University of Helsinki

A Grammar of Wutun

PhD Thesis

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Cover image: A thangka painter in Wutun

Abstract

This study is a grammatical description of Wutun (ISO 639-3 WUH), a distinct local form of Northwest Mandarin spoken by approximately 4000 people in Upper Wutun, Lower Wutun and Jiacangma villages in Tongren County, Huangnan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, People's Republic of China. While the Wutun language is genealogically a Sinitic language, it has adapted phonologically and structurally to is current linguistic environment where varieties of Amdo Tibetan are dominant regional languages and lingua francas. The Tibetan influence manifests itself in all domains of Wutun grammatical structure, including phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. This has yielded some phonological and grammatical properties that are unusual for a Sintic language and cross-linguistically rare, including the size of a phoneme inventory, multiple aspect marking and egophoricity.

The present study is based on first-hand field data collected during three field trips to Qinghai province in June-August 2007, June-August 2010 and June-July 2013. My data includes descriptive and narrative texts, conversations, as well as elicited sentences and grammaticality judgements. The theoretical framework used for language description is based on an informal descriptive theory referred in the literature as Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) (Dixon 1997, 2010; Dryer 2006). My study aims to detail aspects of Wutun phonology, morphology and syntax, including phoneme inventory, noun phrase, verb complex, minor word classes, clause structure, non-declarative speech acts and clause combining. It also includes an appendix with three oral texts in Wutun.

It is my hope that the present study will be accessible to a wide audience, including linguists working on Sino-Tibetan languages, languages of Northwest China, linguistic typology, historical linguistics and explanatory theories.

Acknowledgements

Completing this dissertation has been a long and winding road. Describing a virtually undocumented language with many intriguing grammatical features that are still inadequately understood in linguistics would not have been possible without the much-valued practical help, support and encouragement from a number of colleagues and friends from all over the world. I feel deep gratitude when I think about the many people who have stood by me during this process.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to all the Wutun speakers who have welcomed me to their homes and shared the intricacies of their language with me. Writing this grammar would not have been possible without your patience, helpfulness and hospitality. Special thanks go to "Frank" Xiawu Dongzhou, Cairangji and "Myrtle" Cairangji who have helped me with collecting, transcribing and analyzing much of the data and who have introduced me to other members of the language community. My study has also benefited greatly from their intelligent and insightful comments on their mother tongue.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisors, Juha Janhunen and Seppo Kittilä. Juha Janhunen was the person who introduced me to the topic of my dissertation. During both my undergraduate and postgraduate studies, he has been the most inspiring teacher and mentor whose lectures and seminars on languages and cultures of Amdo-Qinghai and countless anecdotes from the field have fueled my long-lasting interest in the area. He has also shared with me his encyclopedic knowledge of the minority languages of Western China and an enormously wide contact network in the region that have crucially helped me to succeed with the fieldwork necessary for this project. My second supervisor, Seppo Kittilä, has been the most efficient, energetic and helpful supervisor one could ever imagine. He has always been ready to answer my questions and to give detailed and well-informed feedback on my texts from the perspective of typology, general linguistics and grammar writing. I also thank Seppo for many delightful moments in informal gatherings among colleagues.

I am very grateful to my preliminary examiner and opponent, Scott Delancey, for his constructive feedback on the thesis and valuable recommendations concerning my future research. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to my other preliminary examiner, Carol Genetti, for her truly encouraging review and insightful comments for improving the manuscript. In addition to my supervisors and preliminary examiners, I have received many

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Symbols and Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ADV	adverb
ATTR	attributive
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONSEQ	consequential
COORD	coordinative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DUR	durative
EGO	ego
EMPH	emphatic
EQU	equative
EXCL	exclamation
EXEC	executive auxiliary
EXIST	existential
FACT	factual
HES	hesitation
IMP	imperative
INCOMPL	incompletive
INTERR	interrogative
INTJ	interjection
LOC	locative
MAN.EXT	manner and extent marker
OD	optional dative
ORD	ordinal number
NEC	necessitative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PART	particle
PAUC	paucal
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PN	proper name
PROB	probabilitative
PROGR	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximal

QUOT	quotative
REF	referential
REP	reported
RES	resultative
RES.AO	agent-oriented resultative
RES.PO	patient-oriented resultative
SEN.INF	sensory-inferential
SOC	sociative
SUPER	superlative
TERM	terminative
TOP	topic
VOL	voluntative
AT	Amdo Tibetan
SM	Standard Mandarin
WT	Written Tibetan
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic
~	reduplication
*	ungrammatical form

1 Introduction

This dissertation is a description of the grammar of Wutun 'vernacular' (SM *Wutunhua* 五屯话), an aberrant variety of Northwest Mandarin spoken by ca. 4000 people in Upper Wutun, Lower Wutun and Jiacangma villages, Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, in the People's Republic of China. The study is primarily descriptive. It aims to detail aspects of Wutun phonology, morphology and syntax, drawing on both naturally occurring and elicited data. Therefore, I have used the descriptive theory referred to as Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, 2010; Dryer 2006) as a major thrust for the description and analysis. While the study is largely synchronic and focuses on one language, I have also tried to set the structures of Wutun against the historical, areal and typological context, examining the relationship between Wutun and other forms of Mandarin, its most important contact languages (Amdo Tibetan and Bonan) that have contributed to the development of several non-Sinitic phonological and morphosyntactic features, as well as cross-linguistic studies on the relevant grammatical phenomena. This introductory chapter sets the stage for subsequent chapters. Section 1.1 gives the genetic classification and typological overview of Wutun, as well as discussion of previous research. Section 1.2 introduces the sociohistorical and areal context in which Wutun is spoken, including the geographical location, social and ethnic relations of the Wutun people; the linguistic area Amdo Sprachbund that forms a contact zone for the Wutun language; the sociolinguistic status of Wutun; and the survey of historical accounts on the origins of its speakers. The chapter then concludes with the treatment of theory and methods in Section 1.3, including the theoretical background, data collection and the goals and organization of this study.

1.1 The Wutun language

This section provides some basic information on the Wutun language. Section 1.1.1 deals with its genetic affiliation, as well as the nature of 'creolization'. Section 1.1.2 gives an overview of the typological features of Wutun, while Section 1.1.3 is a summary of previous research.

1.1.1 Genetic affiliation

In terms of genetic taxonomy, Wutun is best classified as a distinct local form of Northwest Mandarin, which forms a branch of the Sinitic group of language in the Sino-Tibetan language family (Janhunen et al. 2008: 11). It is important to stress that Wutun is unintelligible to the speakers of other forms of Mandarin, including the varieties of Northwest Mandarin and it is therefore not a 'dialect' but a distinct Sinitic language. The classification of Wutun as a variety of Mandarin Chinese is evident from the fact that most of its basic vocabulary and grammatical morphemes are of Sinitic origin and they have unambiguous cognates in other forms of Mandarin Chinese. However, due to language contact with several non-Sinitic languages spoken in the immediate vicinity of Wutun and relative isolation from other forms of Chinese, Wutun has acquired many phonological and structural properties as well as cultural vocabulary that are quite atypical for Chinese and reflect the structures of its contact languages. The most important contact language of Wutun is Amdo Tibetan, a local lingua franca and the second language for almost all the Wutun speakers, and the Tibetan influence manifests itself in all areas of Wutun grammatical structure and substance: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (notably cultural vocabulary). In addition, Wutun also has some structural features that are due to language contact with Bonan, a Mongolic language spoken in four villages located in the immediate vicinity of the Wutun-speaking villages.

Because of its combination of Sinitic lexicon and grammatical morphemes with non-Sinitic morphosyntactic properties, Wutun has sometimes been classified as a 'mixed language' or 'creole'. This is the case, for example, in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2015), which characterizes Wutun (ISO 639-3 WUH) as a 'mixed language, Chinese-Tibetan-Bonan

Monguor'. Meakins (2013: 164) cites Wutun as one possible example of a language that has been identified as a mixed language. Whether or not Wutun should be identified as a mixed language depends of course on how mixed languge is defined. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have argued that mixed languages should be identified on the basis of their genetic ambiguity; they appear to have no clear genetic heritage and cannot be classified according to standard historical methods. In this dissertation, however, I adopt the view proposed by Janhunen (2007) and Janhunen et al. (2008: 12), who regard Wutun as a descendant of its genetic lineage, the Sinitic group of languages that forms a base for its basic vocabulary and grammatical resources. In this respect, Wutun resembles other languages of the Amdo Sprachbund that have structurally adapted to their linguistic environment but retained their basic vocabularies and material resources of grammar, which can be considered the most reliable indicators of their genetic affiliations (Janhunen 2007). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Wutun is a strongly 'mixed' Sinitic language that has many phonological, structural and lexical features originally alien to varieties of Mandarin Chinese, and its unique fusion of source languages has resulted due to long-term community bilingualism. It is therefore highly relevant to both sociohistorical and structural approaches in the discussion of mixed languages.

1.1.2 Typological overview

A striking phonological feature that distinguishes Wutun from most Sinitic languages is the absence of tonal system. Due to language contact with neighboring languages Amdo Tibetan and Bonan, none of which has tones, Wutun has lost the tonal distinctions once present in the language. On the basis of current data, it seems that Wutun has not developed any phonologically relevant suprasegmental distinctions (such as stress system) to compensate the loss of tones. Wutun segmental phonology also shows heavy interference from Amdo Tibetan, including a series of voiced obstruents, syllable-final velar obstruents and borrowed consonantal phonemes, such as a voiceless lateral fricative. However, Wutun has retained a system of syllable-medial glides, which is a typical Sinitic phonological feature.

Unlike other Sinitic languages that are typically isolating and express grammatical relations by means of word order and prepositions, Wutun is an agglutinative, extensively suffixing language. Nouns are marked for number and case, while verbs take aspect, mood,

modal and evidential marking. The basic, unmarked word order is Agent-Patient-Verb. However, it is important to note that as in other Sinitic languages, in Wutun clauses are often organized on the basis of information structural factors, such as topicality, and the Patient can precede the Agent if it is highly topical. Wutun generally exhibits head-final syntax. Patients precede the verb, relative clauses precede their head nouns and the language has suffixes and postpositions. The basic, APV word order and suffixing morphology are important areal features of the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund and they are shared by almost all the languages in the region. The most prominent non-Sinitic structural features in Wutun are the reduction of numeral classifiers and the presence of Tibetan-type evidential system that distinguishes between ego and non-ego evidentials (see Chapters 3 and 7). On the other hand, Wutun has retained some important Sinitic structural features, such as the system of complement verbs, most of which are of Chinese origin (see Chapter 4).

1.1.3 Previous research

The first descriptions of Wutun were written in 1980's in connection with the survey on Mongolic languages of China that scholars from Inner Mongolia University conducted after Cultural Revolution. The Chinese linguist Chen Naixiong, whose original research interest was Bonan (Chen 1986a), worked out a preliminary description of Wutun published in both Written Mongolian and Chinese (Chen 1981, 1982). A few years later Chen prepared an expanded version of his paper (1986) and more specific studies on vocabulary (unpublished and possibly lost), phonology (1988) and the inflection of verbs (1989). The other relatively large published works by Chinese scholars containing primary data from Wutun are a grammatical sketch by local cultural officer, Xi Yuanlin (1983) and a more theoretically oriented work by Yixiweisa Acuo (2004). Acuo basically worked on the Dao language spoken in Sichuan, another aberrant variety of Mandarin heavily influenced by a Tibetic language, but he has also collected primary data on Wutun and he compares Dao and Wutun in his description of the Dao language. Wutun is discussed briefly in the local encyclopedic handbook of Huangnan Prefecture (Huangnan Zizhizhou Zhi Bianzuan Weiyuanhui 1999: 1465-1502). In addition, the survey on minority languages and cultures of Gansu and Qinghai provinces of China by Zhong Jingwen (Zhong 2007: 68-76) contains a brief section on Wutun.

Although Wutun has up to the present day remained a relatively little known language outside China, it has not completely evaded the attention of general linguists. Most of the general linguists familiar with Wutun have discussed it in the framework of language contact. The American-Chinese linguist Charles N. Li has worked in Qinghai region and he mentions Wutun in his papers on language contact in the area (Li 1983, 1984 and 1986). Both the general context of the Amdo Sprachbund and more specific examples of the various languages of the region, including Wutun, are discussed in Stephen A. Wurm (1995), Keith W. Slater (2001), Juha Janhunen (2006, 2007, 2012, 2015) and Arienne M. Dwyer (2013). An entirely secondary treatise based on Chen's material is a sketch by Mei W. Lee-Smith and Stephen A. Wurm (1996). On the basis of Li's material, Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (1988: 91-92) also mention Wutun in their famous book on language contact.

Several researchers from the University of Helsinki have studied Wutun in the context of a research project *Patterns of Ethnic Interaction and Adaptation in Amdo Qinghai* supported by the Academy of Finland and the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters in 2005-2008. Juha Janhunen, Marja Peltomaa, Erika Sandman and Xiawu Dongzhou (who is a native speaker of Wutun) published a short grammar sketch of Wutun (2008). Janhunen has also written papers on contact-induced phonological changes in Wutun (2008), as well as attempts of using Tibetan alphabet for writing Wutun (2009). Marja Kaurila (=Peltomaa) (2011) discusses the relationship between topic prominence and clause combining in Wutun. Finally, I have published papers on the influence of Bonan and Tibetan on Wutun grammar (Sandman 2012, 2013), as well as a paper on the role of cross-linguistic comparison in studying a little documented language, using Wutun as an example (2013, in Finnish). Finally, I have written a joint paper together with Camille Simon on the role of Tibetan as a dominant Sprachbund language that has contributed to the development of isomorphic structural features in two unrelated languages, Wutun and the Turkic language Salar (Sandman and Simon 2016), as well as a paper on egophoricity in Wutun (Sandman forthcoming).

Little systematic research has been done on the history and culture of Wutun people. Xiawu Dongzhou (2004) has published a brief article in Tibetan on the history of Wutun people. The ethnic taxonomy of Wutun speakers is analyzed in Juha Janhunen, Lionel Ha Mingzong and Joseph Tshe dPag dNam rGyal (2007). Juha Janhunen (2010) discusses a popular folktale legend of the Wutun people describing two monks' pilgrimage to Lhasa, which is also included in the data for this dissertation. Finally, there exists a study on thangka painting in Tongren area, including the Wutun-speaking villages, by Peng Zhaorong (2012).

1.2 Sociohistorical and areal context

This section discusses the social, historical and areal context of the Wutun speakers. Section 1.2.1 describes their geographical location. Section 1.2.2 deals with the ethnic environment, material culture and religion of the Wutun people. The sociolinguistic status of the Wutun language, including its role in multilingual region, internal variation, language attitudes of its speakers and the degree of endangerment, is discussed in Section 1.2.3. Section 1.2.4 outlines the larger areal context in which Wutun is spoken, the Amdo Sprachbund. Finally, Section 1.2.5 provides some remarks on the history of the Upper Yellow River region and the Wutun people.

1.2.1 Geographical location

The approximately 4000 Wutun speakers live in Wutun (*Wutun* 五屯), a rural locality on the right bank of the Longwu River (*Longwu He* 龙务河，WT *Rong.bo*) that flows into the Upper Yellow River, in Tongren County (*Tongren Xian* 同仁县) Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (*Huangnan Zangzu Zizhizhou* 黄南藏族自治洲) Qinghai Province (*Qinghai Sheng* 青海省) of the People's Republic of China. The Wutun area is located ca. 120 kms. away from Xining, the capital of the Qinghai Province. The Wutun locality consists of three villages: the two principal Wutun villages, Upper Wutun (*Wutun Shangzhuang* 五屯上庄) and Lower Wutun (*Wutun Xiazhuang* 五屯下庄), and the Jiacangma (*Jiacangma* 加仓玛) village which is located at some distance from the two principal villages. Some 5 kms. from Wutun to south is the county centre of Tongren known as Longwu Town (*Longwu Zhen* 龙务镇，WT *Reb.gong*). The Longwu Town is the location of Longwu monastery (*Longwu Si* 龙务寺), an important centre of Tibetan Buddhism in the region. On the northern side of the Wutun villages there is a small semi-urban settlement *Baoan Xiazhuang* (保安下庄) inhabited by Bonan speakers. Other Bonan-speaking villages, *Nianduhu* (年都乎), *Guomari* (郭嘛日) and *Gasari* (尕撒日) are located on the opposite bank of the Longwu River.

Map 1. The language map of China shows the location of Wutun (Wutunhua), as well as several other languages of the Amdo Sprachbund (Source: Lewis, Paul M. (ed.), 2015. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition, used by permission).

The Chinese name Wutun literally means 'Five Camps' and it most probably has its origins in military terminology, since the ancestors of both the speakers of Wutun and its neighbouring language Bonan used to serve as border guards during the Ming and Qing Dynasties (see Section 1.2.5). In the Amdo Tibetan and Wutun languages the Wutun locality is known as *Sanggaixong* (WT *Seng.ge.gshong*), 'Lion Valley'.

The Tongren County is part of the historical Amdo province (WT *xA.mdo*) of ethnic Tibet. Although not used as an administrative term today, Amdo is still historically and socio-culturally valid term that comprises parts of present day Qinghai (notably the Upper Yellow River basin), Gansu and Sichuan Provinces traditionally belonging to the Tibetan cultural sphere.

1.2.2 Social context

The Amdo region is ethnically and linguistically a heterogeneous area that offers a great amount of diversity in terms of languages, religions and material culture. Officially, the

ethnic minorities in the Amdo region, as well as in other parts of China, are classified according to the Chinese government's taxonomy that divides them into officially recognized 'nationalities' (there are altogether 56 officially recognized nationalities in whole China, including the Han Chinese and 55 officially recognized minority nationalities). In practice, however, official 'nationalities' often do not correspond to the actual linguistic and cultural variation. The largest ethnic groups in Amdo region are Han Chinese (*Hanzu* 汉族), Tibetans (*Zangzu* 藏族) and Hui (Chinese-speaking Muslims, *Huizu* 回族). In addition, there are several smaller ethnic groups that include Mongolic- or Turkic speaking Moslems and Mongolic-speaking Tibetan Buddhists.

Although the Wutun speakers are culturally more or less indistinguishable from local Tibetans, except some of the village festivals, and they speak a Sinitic language, they used to be classified neither as Chinese nor Tibetans in the official classification system by the Chinese government. Instead, they were officially classified as Tu 'nationality' (*Tuzu* 土族). The Tu 'nationality' is a somewhat arbitrary term comprising several groups that are classified neither as Han Chinese, Tibetans or some of the several Moslem groups in the Amdo region. The Tu 'nationality' used to comprise the speakers of Wutun, the speakers of the Mongolic languages Mongghul and Mangghuer, as well as the Bonan speakers living in Tongren County. There is another group of Bonan speakers who have migrated to the Gansu Province in mid 19th century and become Moslems, and they are officially classified as Baoan nationality (*Baoanzu* 保安族). However, this classification has now changed and at the moment the Wutun speakers are officially classified as Tibetans. The Wutun speakers themselves also tend to identify themselves as Tibetans, despite being aware of the large portion of Chinese vocabulary and grammatical structures in their language. Due to their complex ethnic status, the Wutun speakers do not have an actual name for their ethnic group and language. The language is simply referred to as *ngan-de-hua*, 'our language'.

Photo 1. Temple structures in Wutun, August 2007 (photo by Erika Sandman)

The numerically largest and culturally dominant ethnic group in Tongren County has up to the present day been Tibetans. The number of Han Chinese in the region was very low before the political campaigns like Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and the Western Development Campaign (since 2000), which have led to the migration of large numbers of Chinese immigrants to the region. The Tibetan influence is reflected in the languages and cultures of the smaller ethnic groups in Tongren County. Both the speakers of Wutun and Bonan follow the *Gelukpa* (WT *dGe.lugs.pa*) school of Tibetan Buddhism. The Upper Wutun and Lower Wutun both have important Buddhist temples whose history dates back to the 16th century. The monasteries are the centers for local religious life and almost all the monks are local Wutun speakers, while the working language in the monasteries is Tibetan. In terms of material culture, the Wutun speakers are settled agriculturalists that cultivate wheat. In addition to the agriculture, their most important economic activity is painting *thangkas* (WT *thang.ka*), traditional Tibetan Buddhist images made on canvas, and making Buddhist sculptures.

Photo 2. A Buddhist monk painting thangka in Wutun, August 2007 (photo by Erika Sandman)

Both monks and laymen traditionally paint thangkas and the Wutun thangka painting masters travel all over Tibetan regions to market thangkas and decorate temples. The Wutun thangka painting tradition is widely known as *Regong School of Tibetan Art.*

1.2.3 Sociolinguistic setting

Despite its small number of speakers, Wutun still remains a living language spoken by all generations in the community and the children in Wutun-speaking villages acquire it as their first language. In addition to their mother tongue, most of the Wutun speakers can also speak at least one or two other languages of the Tongren area. The local *lingua franca* in the county center of Tongren and in the surrounding areas has traditionally been Amdo Tibetan (especially the Rekong dialect) and almost all the adult Wutun speakers have at least some knowledge of Amdo Tibetan. The only exception are some elderly women who have lived all their lives in the local villages and have not had much contact with outsiders, and small

children who have not started the school yet. Tibetan is the language of trade, religion and education for the Wutun speakers, since it is used in marketing thangkas, as a working language in local monasteries and in the Buddhist rituals monks perform at people's homes, and as a language of instruction in local primary schools and in Lower Wutun Middle School. In addition, mixed marriages between Wutun and Tibetan speakers are common and both Wutun and Tibetan are spoken in bilingual families. Today, the knowledge of both local varieties of Northwest Mandarin and Standard Mandarin has also become increasingly common especially among the younger generations.

Photo 3. A Street view of the Wutun village, June 2010 (photo by Erika Sandman)

The children get their primary school education in local village schools and most of the students complete their middle school in Lower Wutun Middle School. The language of instruction is Tibetan and the teachers actively encourage the Wutun students to speak Tibetan at school, although Wutun is sometimes used as a language of oral instruction in lower grades. The learning of Tibetan is also facilitated by everyday contacts with Tibetan students, since there are also children from local Tibetan villages in the primary schools. Both Tibetan and Chinese are studied as subjects at the school. Some parents send their children to

Chinese middle schools in Longwu Town and Xunhua County, but most of them prefer the education in Tibetan. Written Tibetan and Written Chinese are used as literary languages by literate Wutun speakers. So far, there is no tradition of writing Wutun. When asked, educated speakers are able to write down their language by using either Chinese Pinyin or Tibetan alphabet, or combination of the two, and Janhunen (2009) has made an attempt of writing Wutun by using Tibetan alphabet. However, no writing system is systematically used by the language community.

The other languages spoken in Tongren area are Bonan and Salar (Turkic). Bilingualism in Wutun and Bonan is very rare. There are some bilingual individuals who have been exchanged through the two communities by marriage and who therefore can speak the two languages fluently, but their individual bilingualism is not passed to the next generation. However, some grammatical borrowings from Bonan to Wutun, such as the paucal-plural distinction and the terminative non-final verb -*tala* of Mongolic origin, suggest that the linguistic contact between the two communities has most probably been more intense in the past than it is today. None of the Wutun speakers I have worked with has reported the knowledge of Salar.

Due to the small number of speakers and the compactness of the speech community, there seems to be no significant dialectal differences in the Wutun language. In my data, I have observed some minor phonological and lexical differences between the languages spoken in two principal Wutun villages and the Jiacangma village. For example, there is some variation in the phonological shape of the ablative case marker, which is pronounced as -*la* by the speakers from the principal Wutun villages and as -*ra* by the speakers from the Jiacangma village. Another example is the word for 'child'. The speakers from the principal Wutun villages use *galamala*, while the speakers from Jiacangma use *enian*. However, generally speaking these differences are rather small. There certainly exists more variation between the sexes and different generations, but these differences still remain to be systematically studied.

The language attitudes of the Wutun speakers I have talked with have been fairly positive, despite the fact that many of them have been scolded and ridiculed by local Tibetans because of their language. For example, fights and conflicts with Tibetan students at school are common. The local Tibetans refer to the speakers of both Bonan and Wutun as *Dordo*, which the Wutun people find derogatory. One young speaker of Wutun commented that since Tibetan students do not understand the Wutun language, they are afraid that Wutun students are secretly telling bad things about them and this can lead to conflicts at school. On the other

hand, some Tibetan students show genuine interest towards the language and the Wutun speakers themselves appreciate Wutun as a 'secret language' that outsiders are not able to understand.

Although the Wutun language community has remained vigorous up to the present day, it goes without saying that Wutun is a potentially endangered language. Due to its small number of speakers and lack of official recognition in China that restricts its use into the Wutun locality and domestic sphere, the Wutun language has a vulnerable status that can easily be affected by demographic and economic changes in the region. The language spoken in Jiacangma has the most vulnerable position, because the inhabitants of the Jiacangma village have tighter interaction with local Tibetans than the inhabitants of the two principal Wutun villages, and some speakers are switching their language to Amdo Tibetan due to mixed marriages.

1.2.4 Areal context: the Amdo Sprachbund

In a larger framework, Wutun is a member of a language union best termed *Amdo Sprachbund* (see Janhunen et al. 2008: 21-22, Janhunen 2012, 2015). The Amdo Sprachbund comprises Eastern Qinghai (*Haidong* 海东) and Southern Gansu (*Gannan* 甘南) and the number of languages spoken in the area is between 15 and 19 (see Janhunen 2015). The languages of the Amdo Sprachbund represent four genetic groups: Sinitic, Bodic, Mongolic and Turkic. Of these language groups, varieties of Northwest Mandarin and Amdo Tibetan have the largest number of speakers and they function as dominant regional languages and *lingua francas*. The Mongolic and Turkic languages and some highly aberrant varieties of Northwest Mandarin are spoken at the more local level. The Mongolic languages in the region include Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Dongxiang (Santa) and Shira Yughur, while the Turkic language family has two representatives, Salar and Sarygh Yughur. Due to long term history of contact, the languages of the Amdo Sprachbund combine typological features of all the four language groups and they have been approaching a uniform typological goal that can be characterized as the *Amdo Language Type* (Janhunen 2007; Janhunen et al. 2008: 22). Prominent areal features of the Amdo Language Type include the basic APV word order, the use of suffixes and postpositions, the lack of tones and classifiers, Tibetan-type evidential system and Tibetan discourse particles. Some of these are discussed in Janhunen (2005, 2007,

2012), Dwyer (2013) and Sandman and Simon (2016). For a discussion of some areal features of Northern Chinese dialects that are due to contact with Mongolic, Turkic and Tungusic languages (such as agglutinative tendencies, stress-accent dominance over tone and word order changes), see Chappell (2001: 335-337).

In addition to Wutun, there are several other typologically transformed varieties of Northwest Mandarin in the Amdo Sprachbund and the surrounding regions. Two other highly aberrant, local varieties of Northwest Mandarin are Gangou (甘沟) spoken at Gangou Township (*Gangou Xiang* 甘沟乡) of Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County (*Minhe Huizu Tuzu Zizhixian* 民和回族土族自治县), Qinghai (Feng and Stuart 1992; Zhu et al. 1997) and Tangwang (唐汪), spoken at Tangwang Township (*Tangwang Xiang* 唐汪乡) of Dongxiang Autonomous County (*Dongxiang Zizhixian* 东乡自治县), Gansu (Ibrahim 1986; Lee-Smith 1996a). These two varieties show several non-Sinitic features, such as the APV word order, suffixing morphology and non-Sinitic grammatical forms like case markers. However, Gangou and Tangwang are less Tibetanized than Wutun and they lack certain Tibetan structural features prominent in Wutun, e.g. the Tibetan-type evidential system. Non-Sinitic features can also be observed in more dominant regional varieties of Northwest Mandarin, such as Linxia (Hezhou), Xunhua, and Huangshui (Xining) dialects (see Dwyer 1992, 1995; Lee-Smith 1996b; Dede 1999a, 1999b, 2007).

An interesting example of close interaction between Chinese and Tibetan that resembles Wutun is the *Dao* 'vernacular' (*Daohua* 倒话) spoken by a small population of few thousand people in in Yajiang County (*Yajiang Xian* 雅江县) of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (*Ganzi Zangzu Zizhizhou* 甘孜藏族自治州), Sichuan (Acuo 2004). Like Wutun, Dao combines Sinitic basic vocabulary with Tibetan structural features. However, Dao remains areally outside the Amdo Sprachbund and it has no direct connection with Wutun.

1.2.5 Historical notes

The Amdo region has in the course of its history belonged to the various political states and cultural spheres, including Tibetan, Chinese, Mongol and Uighur empires. These different political spheres have left their traces to the ethnic and linguistic composition of the region. The Upper Yellow River basin also had an important role in trade in the time of the ancient 'Silk Road' and the trading posts and garrisons established in the area reinforced interaction

between different linguistic groups. The arrival of Tibetans to the region can be connected to the expansion of the Tibetan empire in between 7th to 9th cc. and they therefore seem to represent historically oldest layer of today's ethnic and linguistic groups in the region. The Mongol empire (13th to 14th cc.) and its representative in China, the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) contributed to the migration of Sinitic, Mongolic and Turkic speakers to the Amdo area. The emergence of the Wutun language most probably dates back to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when local non-Tibetan speakers were employed as border guards (Janhunen et al. 2008: 16). At that time, the Upper Yellow River region, including the present day Wutun- and Bonan-speaking villages formed a borderland between China and Tibet. The local people were organized into a hereditary border guard units to protect the Chinese border against Tibetan territories. The border guard system was continued during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and the people of this profession were known as 'local people' (*Turen*), which has probably given rise to a modern ethnonym Tu. The Wutun language may have originated due to intermarriage between Chinese soldiers sent from other parts of China and the local Tibetic- and Mongolic-speaking women.

1.3 Theory and methods

This section describes the theories and methods used in my dissertation. Theoretical background is discussed in Section 1.3.1 and the data in Section 1.3.2. Section 1.3.3 is a brief summary about the contents and organization of my study.

1.3.1 Language description and Basic Linguistic Theory

This dissertation aims to be a synchronic description of the Wutun language. Comparison of Wutun structures to other varieties of Mandarin, as well as to the non-Sinitic languages spoken in the Amdo Sprachbund, are included to the extent that they help to explain the synchronic phenomena found in my data. For the purpose of language description, I have used an informal descriptive theory referred in the literature as Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) by Dixon (1997, 2010) and Dryer (2006).

Basic Linguistic theory aims to describe the language in its own terms and avoids fitting its structures into a pre-determined formal model. Instead of using terminology specific for certain theoretical framework, BLT makes use of basic concepts familiar from traditional grammar, such as word classes like noun and verb, semantic roles like Agent and Patient, phrases like NP and VP etc. This approach has close connections with language typology, as it sets out a typological paradigm based on inductive generalizations from descriptive grammars (Dixon 2010: 205). Whenever possible, I have tried to set the Wutun structures against a wider typological framework. My study has been greatly informed by typological guidelines for language description by Shopen (1985, 2007). Another principle in my study is to describe the functions for which the structures are used. I have aimed to use a lot of examples from naturally occurring data and to give as much context as possible for the examples used in this grammar. Following the functional approach, I have also included some face-to face conversations in my data, because meanings and functions of many linguistic structures are best understood in conversational context.

Grammars written in a descriptive framework usually stand the test of time better than those following more specific theories, and they are accessible for linguists from many different theoretical backgrounds. It is my hope that this study will be useful for as broad audience as possible, including linguists working on Sino-Tibetan languages, languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, historical linguistics, language typology and formal linguistic theories. I also hope that the data and analysis presented in this study will be of long lasting value.

1.3.2 Data and speakers

The data for this study was collected during three field trips to China in June-August 2007, June-August 2010 and June-July 2013. During my field trips, I stayed and worked with Wutun speakers in both Tongren County and the Xining City. I also worked with a native Wutun speaker Xiawu Dongzhou in Helsinki, when he was invited as a visiting researcher in the University of Helsinki by the project *Patterns of Ethnic Interaction and Adaptation in Amdo Qinghai* in January 2006-May 2006. In addition, my data also includes some material from the corpus collected by Yixiweisa Acuo for the SOAS Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP, corpus WT09_4, used here by permission).

The data for this study consists of texts, elicited and overheard examples, as well as published material. The text data comprises 13 texts that altogether contain approximately 1300 transcribed clauses. The text corpus includes a folktale legend describing two monks' pilgrimage to Lhasa, originally recorded by Mr. Yixiweisa Acuo (*ELDP, corpus WT09_4*), which was later preliminarily transcribed and partially translated into Tibetan by Mr. "Frank" Xiawu Dongzhou. I have worked on a grammatical analysis and English translation of the text together with Mr. "Frank" Xiawu Dongzhou and Ms. "Myrtle" Cairangji. The plot and central motifs of the text are discussed in Janhunen (2010). The other texts have been recorded by myself and the preliminary transcription and analysis was done together with the native speakers of Wutun. The text data includes descriptive texts, conversations, as well as procedural texts and a dialogue based on stimuli. There are three descriptive texts on cultural conventions of the Wutun people (*The Wutun Village, Traditional Food, Village Festivals*) and two conversations dealing with daily life in the villages, one involving one male and two female speakers (*Conversation 1_School*) and one involving four male speakers (*Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car*). Two texts from young speakers were elicited using the pictures (texts were covered) from the popular children's books The Berenstain Bears: Bike Lesson (Berenstain and Berenstain 1964 translated into Chinese in 2010) and The Berenstain Bears: The Bear's Picnic (Berenstain and Berenstain 1966 translated into Chinese in 2010). The first text is a dialogue between two speakers based on the story (*Bike*), while the second one is a procedural text, which involves one speaker retelling the story (*Picnic*). In addition, I have elicited five short procedural texts (*Blind Grandmother, Tree, Nasty Dog, Coconut, Beach*) using the series of pictograms in Information Structure Questionnaire by Skopeteas et al. (2006). The text data features altogether 12 speakers between age of 10 and 54 years, both male and female, and residents of both the two principal Wutun villages and the Jiacangma village. Because my data contains spontaneous conversations and gossiping, it is not suitable for publication in its entirety, but three descriptive texts (*The Wutun Village, Traditional Food* and *Village Festivals*) are published as an appendix of this dissertation.

The text data was complemented by extensive elicitation and grammaticality judgements (the elicitation was necessary, for example, for determining the extremely rich verbal morphology of Wutun), as well as some casual remarks the speakers made in daily situations and when explaining their language to me. This elicited material contains roughly 1100 clauses. When eliciting data, I used both direct elicitation in Mandarin Chinese and staged communicative events, in which I did not ask the speakers to translate directly from

language to language, but instead provided a context for an expression and asked the speaker to think about a suitbale utterance. The three most important language consultants were "Frank" Xiawu Dongzhou, a male in his forties from Wutun, Cairangji, a female in her twenties from Wutun and "Myrtle" Cairangji, a female in her twenties from Jiacangma, who provided part of the text data as well as most of the elicited material (the elicited examples are referred as the name of the consultant), and helped to transcribe the data recorded from other speakers. When possible, elicited examples were checked with more than one speaker. In addition, I have gone over all the published material on Wutun (see Section 1.1.3) and the data used in this dissertation includes some examples from published sources.

1.3.3 Organization of this study

Chapter 2 gives a brief summary of Wutun phonology. I have kept this part rather brief, since an in-depth analysis of both synchronic and diachronic aspects of Wutun phonology is provided in Janhunen et al. (2008) and Janhunen (2008). The rest of the chapters present a comprehensive analysis of Wutun morphosyntax, which is the focus of this study. Noun phrases are discussed in Chapter 3 and verb phrases in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 deals with word classes that resemble neither nouns nor verbs in their morphosyntactic properties, namely postpositions, adverbs, discourse connectors, interjections and particles. After dealing with word classes, my study turns into more in-depth analysis of two particularly complex verbal categories, aspect in Chapter 6 and evidentiality/egophoricity in Chapter 7. Finally, there are three chapters devoted to Wutun syntax. Chapter 8 describes clause structure in declarative main clauses with one predicate, while Chapter 9 deals with non-declarative clauses: interrogatives, negation and imperatives. My study concludes with the treatment of clause combining in Chapter 10. In addition, three oral texts of Wutun are included as an appendix of this dissertation.

2 Phonology

Wutun has a rather large phoneme inventory, consisting of 38 consonantal and 6 vocalic phonemes. The phonology of Wutun has been influenced by neighboring languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, most notably Amdo Tibetan. Therefore, Wutun phonology shows mixture of Chinese and Tibetan elements. The Amdo Tibetan influence manifests itself e.g. in the absence of tones and the presence of a set of voiced obstruents, as well as borrowed consonantal phonemes such as the voiceless dental lateral [ɬ]. On the other hand, Wutun has preserved the system of syllable-medial glides and syllable final, nasalized vowels [ũ] and [ĩ], which are characteristic features of Sinitic phonology. Both Chinese and Tibetan elements occur in several different layers. Therefore, Wutun has both inherited Sinitic vocabulary and recent loanwords borrowed from Standard Mandarin. Recent Standard Mandarin borrowings may contain phonemes that are only marginally attested in Wutun and do not occur in Northwest Mandarin and Amdo Tibetan vocabulary, such as the voiceless labiodental fricative [f]. The phonological system presented here represents the speech of Mr. Xiawu Dongzhou, a male speaker born in Wutun in 1966. It is important to note that there exists significant variation in the speech of different Wutun speakers and the phonological system postulated here may not be valid for all the speakers. The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.1 describes the Wutun phoneme inventory and Section 2.2 deals with syllable structure. Word stress is treated in Section 2.3.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Wutun is given in Table 1. IPA symbols are given in square brackets, while orthographic representations used in this dissertation are given without square brackets.

Table 1. *Consonant phonemes*

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
stops	[b] bb [p] b [pʰ] p	[d] dd [t] d [tʰ] t				[g] gg [k] g [kʰ] k
affricates		[ʣ] zz [ʦ] z [tsʰ] c	[ʥ] zzh [ʦʂ] zh [ʦʂʰ] ch	[ʥ] jj [ʨ] j [ʨʰ] q	[ɟʝ] jjh [cç] jh [cçʰ] qh	
fricatives	[f] f	[z] ss [sʰ] s	[ʂʰ] sh	[z] xx [ɕ] x		[ɣ ~ ʁ] gh [x ~ h] h
nasals	[m] m	[n] n				[ŋ] ng
liquids		[l] l [ɫ] lh	[ɹ] r			
glides	[w] w				[j] y	[ɦ] xh

In this dissertation I will use a phonemic orthography based on Chinese *Pinyin* romanization system for transcribing Wutun. When discussing phonetic forms, IPA symbols are given in square brackets. The orthography was developed by Juha Janhunen and the choices for transcribing Wutun in this dissertation basically reflect his work. The subsequent chapters contain some remarks on orthographic conventions. For a detailed discussion of the Wutun orthography, the reader is referred to Janhunen et al. (2008) and Janhunen (2008).

For the readers not familiar with Pinyin romanization, the following may be helpful. In Standard Mandarin there is a two-way contrast between voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated obstruents, and there are no voiced obstruents. This is reflected in Pinyin romanization so that the voiceless unaspirated obstruents are written with the symbol of a voiced obstruent (for example, the voiceless unaspirated labial stop [p] is written as *b*) and the voicless aspirated stops are written with the symbol of a voiceless obstruent (for example, the voiceless aspirated stop [pʰ] is written as *p*). This convention is also followed in my dissertation for writing Wutun. However, due to Tibetan influence the obstruent system in Wutun is more complex than that of Standard Mandarin and there is also a series of voiced obstruents that do not have a symbol in Pinyin. Therefore, some special conventions must be applied for transcribing them. In Janhunen's system, voiced obstruents are written with digraphs. For example, the voiced labial stop [b] is written as *bb*. When discussing the Wutun segmental phonology and presenting the examples, I will first give the phoneme as an orthographic Pinyin symbol and then the corresponding IPA symbol in square brackets. For example, the sentence '/*b*/ is a voiceless unaspirated labial stop [p]' means that the Pinyin symbol *b* denotes the voiceless unaspirated labial stop [p].

Another convention in Pinyin is that the phonemic labial glide /*w*/ is written with the symbol *w* when it stands in a syllable onset (as in *wanlan* [wɛ̃lɛ̃], 'to work') and with the symbol *u* when it is used as a medial glide (as in *hua* [hᵘa ~ hʷa], 'speech'). Similarly, the phonemic palatal glide /*y*/ is written with the symbol *y* in syllable-initial position (as in *yang* [jã], 'sheep') and with the symbol *i* when it appear as a medial glide (as in *liang* [lⁱã ~ lʲã], 'two'). These conventions are also followed in my dissertation.

Some additional digraphs have been introduced for phonemes that do not exist in Standard Mandarin and therefore do not have symbols in the standard version of Chinese *Pinyin*. These are the digraphs *jjh*, *jh* and *qh* for the palatal affricates [ɟʝ], [cç] and [cçʰ], the digraph *gh* for the uvular fricative [ɣ ~ ʁ], the digraph *lh* for the voiceless dental lateral [ɬ] and the digraph *xh* for the velar glide [ɰ].

2.1.1.1 Stops

Wutun has a three-way contrast between voiced stops, voiceless unaspirated stops and voiceless aspirated stops, as illustrated by the following minimal pairs or near minimal pairs in (1):

(1)   a.   *bbawa* [bawa], 'toad'

         b.   *ba* [pa], 'eight'

         c.   *pa* [pʰa], 'to climb'

         d.   *dda* [da], 'to spread'

         e.   *da* [ta], 'to hit'

         f.   *ta* [tʰa], 'PRON 3SG'

         g.   *gga* [ga], 'to love, to like'

         h.   *ga* [ka], 'small'

         i.   *ka* [kʰa], 'to give'

2.1.1.1.1 Voiced stops

/*bb*/ is a voiced labial stop [b]. It occurs both word-initially and word-medially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (2):

(2)   a.   *bbawa* [bawa], 'toad'

         b.   *bbakba* [baˠpa], 'cover, skin'

/*dd*/ is a voiced dental stop [d]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (3):

(3)   a.   *ddang* [dɑ̃], 'to think'

         b.   *ddo* [do], 'to think, to want'

         c.   *ang-dden-ba* [ɑ̃-dɵ̃-pa], 'seventh'

/*gg*/ is a voiced velar stop [g]. Like other voiced stops, it occurs word-initially and word-medially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (4):

(4)   a.   *gga* [ga], 'to love, to like'

         b.   *gguan* [gᵘan], 'monastery'

         c.   *ggaiggan* [gegɛ̃], 'teacher'

There are no occurrences of voiced stops in word-medial or word-final position, or in the Chinese part of the lexicon in my data. This is due to the fact that voiced stops in Wutun are connected with the Tibetan-type system of preinitials once present in the language. According to earlier materials (Chen 1986, 1988), Wutun used to have a series of prenasalized and preglottalized voiced stops. While the prenasalization and preglottalization have been lost in the language of most modern speakers, voiced stops are preserved as distinct segments. Wutun also has a set of voiced affricates and fricatives that represent preservation of an older system of voiced obstruents with preinitials (see Sections 2.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.3).

2.1.1.1.2 Voiceless unaspirated stops

/*b*/ is a voiceless unaspirated labial stop [p]. It occurs in both word-final and word medial position, as in (5):

(5) a.   *ba* [pa], 'eight'

    b.   *ddaiba* [depa], 'village'

  /*d*/ is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop [t]. It occurs in both word-final and word medial position, as in (6)

(6) a.   *da* [ta], 'to hit, to beat'

    b.   *kada* [kʰata], 'speech'

  /*g*/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k]. It occurs in both word-final and word medial position, as in (7):

(7) a.   *ga* [ka], 'small'

    b.   *laiga* [leka], 'work'

Unlike voiced stops that only occur in word-initial position and in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, voiceless stops commonly occur in both word-initial and word-medial position and they are equally common in the Chinese and Tibetan parts of the lexicon.

2.1.1.1.3 Voiceless aspirated stops

/p/ is a voiceless aspirated labial stop [pʰ]. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial position, as in (8):

(8)   a.   *pai* [pʰe], 'white'

             b.   *haipa* [hepʰa], 'to be afraid'

/t/ is a voiceless aspirated dental stop [tʰ]. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial position, as in (9):

(9)   a.   *tai* [tʰe], 'to spit'

             b.   *gutek* [kutʰəˠ], 'bone'

/k/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop [kʰ]. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial position, as in (10):

(10)   a.   *kan* [kʰã], 'to look'

             b.   *lhakang* [ɬakʰã], 'temple'

Like other forms of Mandarin Chinese, Wutun has a systematic opposition between unaspirated and aspirated obstruent initials. However, there are many words for which Wutun shows aspirated obstruent initial while other forms of Mandarin, including Standard Mandarin, show unaspirated obstruent initial, such as *pai* [pʰe], 'white' = SM *bái*, *pe* [pʰə] = SM *bó*, 'thin', *kuan* [kʰʷɛ̃], 'wide' = SM *guǎng*.

Finally, Wutun has a syllable-final velar obstruent transcribed as *k*. The velar final is combined with the vowels /a/, /o/ and /e/, as in (11):

(11)   a.   *yak* [jaˣ], 'yak, beautiful'

         b.   *yok* [joˣ], 'down, under'

         c.   *yek* [jəˠ], 'COP EXIST'

Although transcribed with the same symbol as the voiceless aspirated velar stop [kʰ], the velar final is phonetically realized as a brief, relatively weak voiceless velar fricative [ˣ], or a voiced velar fricative [ˠ]. The voiceless velar fricative is normally used with the vowels /a/ and /o/, as in *dak* [taˣ], 'tiger' and *zok* [tsoˣ], 'to inform', while its voiced counterpart generally occurs with the mid unrounded central vowel /e/, as in *dek* [təˠ], 'to bow'. The symbol *k* is an orthographic convention that does not reflect the exact phonetic realization of the velar final.

2.1.1.2 Affricates

As in the case of stops, Wutun makes a three-way contrast between voiced affricates, voiceless unaspirated affricates and voiceless aspirated affricates. In terms of the place of articulation, affricates can be divided into four classes: dentals, retroflexes, palato-alveolars and palatals.

2.1.1.2.1 Voiced affricates

/*zz*/ is a voiced dental affricate [ʣ]. It occurs word-initially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (12):

(12)   a.   *zzo* [ʣo], 'male yak'

         b.   *zzok* [ʣoˠ], 'to finish'

    /*zzh*/ is a voiced retroflex affricate [ɖʐ]. It occurs word-initially (as in 13 a. and b.) and word-medially (as in 13 c.) in the Tibetan part of the lexicon:

(13) a. *zzhok* [ɖʐoˠ], 'to inform'

b. *zzhe* [ɖʐə], 'female yak'

c. *suanzzhai* [suɛnɖʐe], 'spirit'

/jj/ is a voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ʥ]. It occurs word-initially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (14):

(14) a. *jja* [ʥa], 'to visit'

b. *jje* [ʥə], 'to breathe'

/jjh/ is a voiced palatal affricate [ɟʝ]. It occurs word-initially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (15):

(15) a. *jjhawo* [ɟʝawo], 'king'

b. *jjhorai* [ɟʝoɻe], 'while'

Like voiced stops (see Section 2.1.1.1.1), voiced affricates are historically voiced segments with nasal or glottal preinitials. However, prenasalization and preglottalization have been lost in the language of most of the modern speakers. Like voiced stops, voiced affricates only occur in the Tibetan part of the lexicon. They are usually used in word-initial position, but my data also contains occurrences of /*zzh*/ in word-medial position.

2.1.1.2.2 Voiceless unaspirated affricates

/z/ is a voiceless unaspirated dental affricate [ts]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (16):

(16) a. *zio* [tsⁱo], 'to burn'

b. *pize* [pʰitsə], 'leather'

/zh/ is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex affricate [ʈʂ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (17):

26

(17)   a.   *zho* [ʈʂo], 'to dance'
         b.   *denzho* [tənʈʂo], 'animal'

/*j*/ is a voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate [tɕ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (18):

(18)   a.   *jua* [tɕᵘa], 'to hold'
         b.   *yenjai* [jəntɕe], 'that: person'

jh is a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [cç]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (19):

(19)   a.   *jho* [cço], 'leg'
         b.   *zhekjha* [ʈʂəˠcça], fingernail'

Voiceless unaspirated affricates are equally attested in both the Chinese and Tibetan part of the lexicon.

2.1.1.2.3 Voiceless aspirated affricates

/*c*/ is a voiceless aspirated dental affricate [tsʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (20):

(20)   a.   *co* [tsʰo], 'lake, to sit'
         b.   *macio* [matsʰⁱo], 'bird'

/*ch*/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate [ʈʂʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (21):

(21)   a.   *che* [ʈʂʰə], 'ten thousand'
         b.   *niacha* [nⁱaʈʂʰa], 'tooth'

/q/ is a voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate [tɕʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (22):

(22)   a.   *qe* [tɕʰə], 'to eat'
          b.   *huaiqa* [hᵘetɕʰa] 'book'

/qh/ is a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate [cçʰ]. It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position, as in (23):

(23)   a.   *qhi* [cçʰi], 'vapor, energy, to go'
          b.   *qhiqhek* [cçʰicçʰəˠ], 'balloon'

Voiceless aspirated affricates occur in both the Chinese and Tibetan part of the lexicon.

2.1.1.3 Fricatives

Wutun has two kinds of fricatives, sibilants (Section 2.1.3.1) and spirants (Section 2.1.3.2).

2.1.1.3.1 Sibilants

Wutun makes a three-way distinction between dental, retroflex and palato-alveolar sibilants. In the dental and palato-alveolar series there is a distinction between voiceless and voiced sibilants.

/ss/ is a voiced dental sibilant [z]. It occurs word-initially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (24):

(24)   a.   *ssek* [zəˠ], 'to see'
          b.   *ssanxhan* [zɛ̃ɧɛ̃], 'monk's clothes'

/s/ is a voiceless aspirated dental sibilant [sʰ]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially in both the Chinese and Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (25):

(25) a.   *se* [sʰə], 'four, 'to die'

b.   *sama* [sʰama], 'food'

In addition, a voiceless unaspirated dental sibilant /*sz*/ [s] is marginally attested in Wutun. When speaking Tibetan, some of the Wutun speakers are able to make a distinction between /*s*/ [sʰ] and /*sz*/ [s], as in *sakang* [sʰakʰã], 'clay house' vs. *szaghang* [saʁã], 'restaurant'. However, /*sz*/ has a very limited distribution in Wutun and the speakers make a distinction between /*s*/ and /*sz*/ only when using some Tibetan loanwords.

/*sh*/ is a voiceless aspirated retroflex sibilant [ʂʰ]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially, as in (26):

(26) a.   *shai* [ʂʰe], 'snake'

b.   *loshe* [loʂʰə], 'teacher'

/*xx*/ is a voiced palato-alveolar sibilant [ʑ]. Like other voiced obstruents, it occurs word-initially in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (27):

(27) a.   *xxanba* [ʑampa], 'other'

/*x*/ is a voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar sibilant [ɕ]. It occurs both word-initially and word-medially in both the Chinese and Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (28):

(28) a.   *xawa* [ɕawa], 'work'

b.   *nixi* [niɕi], 'husband'

2.1.1.3.2 Spirants

/*f*/ [f] is a voiceless labiodental spirant. It is a somewhat marginal phoneme in Wutun and it only occurs in recent borrowings from Standard Mandarin, as in (29):

(29) a.   *fenlan* [fənlɛ̃], 'Finland'

29

/*h*/ is a voiceless velar to laryngeal spirant [*x* ~ *h*]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially, as in (30):

(30)   a.   *han* [hɛ̃], 'sweat'

            b.   *hi* [hi], 'to fly'

            c.   *tekhua* [tʰəˠhʷa], 'hair (of the head)'

As noted above, the voiceless labiodental spirant /*f*/ is only marginally attested in Wutun. In most of the words of Chinese origin it is represented as the laryngeal spirant /*h*/, as in *hi* [hi], 'to fly'= SM fēi, *tekhua* [tʰəˠhʷa], 'hair (of the head)' = SM tóufa.

    /*gh*/ is a voiced velar to post-velar spirant [ɣ ~ ʁ]. It occurs word-initially, as in (31):

(31)   a.   *ghong* [ɣõ], 'to forget'

            b.   *gha* [ɣa], 'fox'

2.1.1.4 Nasals

Wutun makes a three-way contrast between labial, dental and velar nasals. Nasals are always pronounced as voiced.

    /*m*/ is a bilabial nasal [m]. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial position, as illustrated by (32):

(32)   a.   *ma* [ma], 'horse'

            b.   *galamala* [kalamala], 'child'

    /*n*/ is a dental nasal [n]. It occurs in both word-initial and word-medial position, as illustrated by (33):

(33)   a.   *naize* [netsə], 'milk'

            b.   *ana* [ana], 'mother'

    /*ng*/ is a velar nasal [ŋ]. It occurs in word-initial position, as in (34):

(34)   a.   *ngu* [ŋu], 'PRON 1SG'

         b.   *ngan* [ŋã], 'press'

Presence of velar nasal initial is a characteristic feature of Northwest Mandarin. This sets Northwest Mandarin phonology apart from Standard Mandarin, which allows velar nasal only in final position. Standard Mandarin makes a distinction between dental and velar nasal finals. As in other forms of Northwest Mandarin (see Janhunen 2006), this distinction has been lost in Wutun. The remaining nasal final segment is realized as vowel nasalization, as in *dun*, [tũ], 'cold'. However, the phonological distinction between the finals *an and *ang is preserved in the vowel quality, as in *gan* [kɛ̃], 'liver', = SM *gān* and *qang* [tɕʰã], 'long' = SM *cháng*. As in the case of velar finals (see Section 2.1.1.1.3), final *n* and *ng* are orthographic conventions that do not reflect the exact phonetic realizations of the segments. Nasal finals are discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.3.

2.1.1.5 Liquids

Wutun system of liquids consists of two laterals and one trill.

/l/ is a voiced dental lateral [l]. It occurs both word-initially and word-medially and in both the Chinese and Tibetan part of the lexicon, as in (35):

(35)   a.   *la* [la], 'leg, to pull,'

         b.   *wanlan* [wɛ̃lɛ̃], 'to do'

/lh/ is a voiceless dental lateral [ɫ]. The voiceless dental lateral is the most important consonant phoneme borrowed from Amdo Tibetan to Wutun. Because of its origin as a borrowed consonant, it only occurs in the Tibetan part of the lexicon. It occurs word-initially, as in (36):

(36)   a.   *lha* [ɫa], 'deity'

         b.   *lhoma* [ɫoma], 'pupil, student'

/r/ is a retroflex trill [ɽ]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially, as in (37):

(37)   a.   *ra* [ɹa], 'even, also'

            b.   *rek* [ɹəˠ], 'meat'

            c.   *gure* [kuɹə], 'goat'

2.1.1.6 Glides

The class of glides in Wutun comprises three members: bilabial, palatal and dorso-palatal/ velar glide.

    /*w*/ is a bilabial glide [w]. It occurs both word-initially and word-medially, as in (38):

(38)   a.   *wan* [wɛ̃], 'to play'

            b.   *wa* [wa], 'mountain'

    /*y*/ is a palatal glide [j]. It occurs word-initially, as in (39):

(39)   a.   *yang* [jɑ̃], 'sheep'

            b.   *yai* [je], 'month'

The bilabial glide /*w*/ and palatal glide /*y*/ can both occur as brief syllable-medial segments before the low vowels /*a*/ and /*o*/ and the mid vowel /*ai*/. When they occur in syllable-medial position, they are transcribed as *u* and *i*, as in *hua*, [hᵘa] 'speech' = SM *huà*, *kuai* [kʰᵘe], 'quick' = SM *kuài*, *nio* [nⁱo], 'to urinate' = SM *niào*. The occurrence of medial glides is one of the most important Sinitic phonological features that has been preserved in Wutun despite considerable interference from Amdo Tibetan. Medial glides are discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.2.

    /*xh*/ is a dorso-palatal/ velar glide [ɟ]. It occurs word-initially and word-medially, as illustrated by (40):

(40)   a.   *xhe* [ɟə], 'river, to drink'

            b.   *xhi* [ɟi], 'black'

            c.   *nixhe* [niɟə], 'woman'

2.1.2 Vowels

2.1.2.1 The vowel paradigm

The Wutun vowel paradigm consists of six basic vowels. Wutun vowel phoneme inventory is given in Table 2.

Table 2. *Vowel phoneme inventory*

	front	central	back
high	i [i]		u [u]
mid	e [ai]	ə [e]	o [o]
low	a ~ ɑ [ɑ]		

/a/ is an unrounded low vowel. Its phonetic value varies among [a] and [ɑ], but it is usually pronounced rather to the front, as in (41):

(41) a. *ta* [tʰa], 'ashes'

   b. *aba* [apa], 'father'

/e/ is an unrounded mid central vowel (schwa) [ə], as in (42):

(42) a. *ge* [kə], 'horn, to cut'

   b. *ek* [əˠ], 'two'

/i/ is an unrounded high front vowel [i], as in (43):

(43) a. *ni* [ni], 'PRON 2SG'

   b. *xi* [ɕi], 'to wash'

/o/ is a rounded mid back vowel [o], as in (44):

(44) a. *xho* [ho], 'good'

   b. *lo* [lo], 'year'

/u/ is a rounded high back vowel [u], as in (45):

(45)   a.   *shu* [ʂʰu], 'tree'

         b.   *gu* [ku], 'PRON 3SG'

/*ai*/ is an unrounded mid front vowel [e], as in (46):

(46)   a.   *rai* [ɹe], 'hot'

         b.   *maidok* [metoˠ], 'flower'

All the Wutun basic vowels are to some extent influenced by their consonantal environment. The phonetic value of an unrounded low vowel /*a*/ can vary among [a] and [ɑ]. The unrounded mid central vowel /*e*/ can acquire special phonetic properties depending on the preceding consonantal segment. After palato-alveolar and palatal consonants it is often pronounced as slightly raised and fronted unrounded central vowel [ə], as in *je* [ʨə] ~ [ʨɵ], 'this'. After dental consonants /*e*/ can approach the value of the apical vowel [ɿ], as in *se* [sʰə] ~ [sʰɿ], 'four', while after retroflex consonants it can approach the value of the apical vowel [ʅ], as in *she* [ʂʰə] ~ [ʂʰʅ], 'ten'. However, these variants remain allophonic and do not represent phonemic distinctions.

2.1.2.2 Complex vowels

In addition to the six basic vowels listed in Section 1.2.1, Wutun has two 'complex' vowels transcribed by the digraphs *ii* and *uu*. Their distinct phonetic quality is most probably connected with either tenseness or prolonged segment. Alternatively, they may consist of two segments. For a more detailed discussion, see Janhunen et al. (2008: 31-32).

/*ii*/ is an unrounded high front vowel [iː] ~ [ii] ~ [ij], which in contrast to [i] is pronounced as long and tense, as in (47):

(47)   a.   *tii* [tʰiː], 'to carry, to kick'

/*uu*/ is a rounded high back vowel [uː] ~ [uu] ~ [uw], which in contrast to [u] is pronounced as long and tense, as in (48):

(48)   a.   *kuu* [kʰu:], 'to cry'
         b.   *luu* [lu:], 'green'

The distinct quality of complex vowels is illustrated by the minimal pairs like *tii* [tʰi:], 'to carry, to kick' = SM *tī* vs. *ti* [tʰi], 'field, soil' = SM *dì* and *kuu* [kʰu:], 'to cry' = SM *kū* vs. *ku* [kʰu], 'bitter' = SM *kǔ*. Both complex vowels /*ii*/ and /*uu*/ are much less frequent than their regular counter parts /*i*/ and /*u*/ and they only occur in few Sinitic items.

2.3 Syllable structure

The syllable in Wutun minimally consists of a lone vowel nucleus and it allows maximally four segments: an initial consonant (C), a medial (M), a main vowel (V) and a final (F), yielding for a template (C) (M) V (F). Earlier data on Wutun (notably Chen 1986, 1988) suggests that Wutun used to have a system of Amdo Tibetan type preinitials, realized as short nasal or glottal segment before the initial consonant. However, in the pronunciation of today's speakers, preinitials seem to have been lost. While all the consonants can occur in the initial consonant position and all the vowels can occur in the main vowel position, the medial and final positions can only be filled by a limited number of segments. Section 2.1 introduces syllables which consist of a lone vowel or an initial consonant and a vowel. Medials are discussed in Section 2.2 and finals are examined in Section 2.3.

2.3.1 Initials and main vowels

A syllable in Wutun may consist of a lone vowel without an initial consonant. Example (49) illustrates syllables with lone vowel nucleus:

(49)　　a.　　　*wu* [**u**], 'five'

　　　　b.　　　*yi* [**i**], 'one'

　　　　c.　　　*a.ba* [**a**.pa], 'father'

　　　　d.　　　*a.na* [**a**.na], 'mother'

　　　　e.　　　*a.lak* [**a**.laˠ], 'lama'

　　　　f.　　　*a.dia* [**a**.tⁱa], 'monk'

Following transcriptional conventions of the Chinese Pinyin system, the vowels /*u*/ and /*i*/ in syllable-initial position are transcribed as *wu* and *yi*, although no initial consonant can be heard on the phonetic level. Words with a vowel anlaut are less frequent than words beginning with an initial consonant, and they are mostly loan words. The words *aba*, 'father' and *ana*, 'mother' are local Northwest Mandarin items that are ultimately borrowed from Turkic, while *alak*, 'lama' and *adia*, 'monk' are borrowings from Amdo Tibetan.

　　　The most common syllable type in Wutun consists of an initial consonant and a vowel. All the consonants can occur in an initial position. Consider:

(50)　　a.　　　*ka* [kʰa], 'to give'

　　　　b.　　　*do* [to], 'to arrive'

　　　　c.　　　*je.do* [tɕɕə.to], 'to know'

　　　　d.　　　*pi.ze* [pʰi.tsə], 'skin'

　　　　e.　　　*da.da.da* [ta.ta.ta], 'just: now'

　　　　f.　　　*ha.la.ma.la* [ha.la.ma.la], 'garbage'

As in most forms of Mandarin Chinese and Amdo Tibetan, Wutun lexicon consists mainly of bisyllabic words, but monosyllabic and polysyllabic words are also frequent. Polysyllabic words include several items of unknown origin, such as *halamala*, 'garbage' in (50 f.).

2.3.2 Medials

The medial position can be filled by two segments, labial medial or palatal medial. The labial medial, transcribed as *u* is realized phonetically either as a brief, rounded high back vowel [ᵘ]

or a brief bilabial glide [ʷ]. It is attested after all the initial consonants except labial initials (for dissimilatory reasons) and it normally precedes the low vowel /a/ or the mid vowel /ai/, as in (51):

(51) a.   *ghua* [ɣᵘa], 'to dig'

   b.   *hua* [hᵘa], speech'

   c.   *kuai* [kʰᵘe], 'quick'

   d.   *huaiqa* [hᵘetɕʰa] 'book'

The labial medial can also occur in syllables which diachronically had a dental nasal final, realized in today's speech as a nasalized unrounded lower mid vowel, as in (52):

(52) a.   *kuan* [kʰᵘɛ̃], 'wide' (= SM *guǎng*)

   b.   *suan* [sʰᵘɛ̃], 'to count' (= SM *suàn*)

In addition, there are a many occurrences of the labial medial preceding the unrounded high front vowel /i/, as in (53):

(53) a.   *qhui* [cçʰᵘi], 'to blow'

   b.   *qui* [tɕʰᵘi], 'religion, doctrine'

   c.   *xhui* [ɦʵi], 'water'

The palatal medial, transcribed as *i*, is realized phonetically either as a brief, unrounded high front vowel [ⁱ] or a brief palatal glide [ʲ]. It only occurs after labial or dental initials and it typically precedes the low vowels /a/ and /o/, as in (54):

(54) a.   *liang* [lⁱã], 'two'

   b.   *nia* [nⁱã], 'PRON 2SG: OBL'

   c.   *pio* [pʰⁱo], 'ticket'

Preservation of medial segments is one of the most prominent Sinitic features of Wutun phonology and the medials usually occur in the Chinese part of the lexicon, although they are also attested in some Tibetan items (as in 50 d. and 52 b.).

2.3.3 Finals

The final position in the syllable can be filled by two kinds of segments: nasal finals or velar finals. As in other forms of Northwest Mandarin, Wutun has only one nasal final. The nasal final merges with the preceding vowel and it is phonetically realized as a nasalized vowel segment. Wutun has altogether six different sequences of a vowel and a nasal final. It is important to note that the orthographic conventions *ang*, *an*, *en*, *ong*, *in* and *un* for nasal finals are based on the Chinese Pinyin romanization and they reflect the diachronic development of nasal finals, as well as the correspondences between the nasal finals in Wutun and Standard Mandarin rather than exact phonetic realizations of the segments in today's speech (on the sound correspondences between Wutun and Standard Mandarin nasal finals, see Janhunen et al. 2008: 44 - 45).

The final /*ang*/ (*a* + *n*) is realized as an unrounded nasalized low back vowel [ɑ̃], as illustrated by (55):

(55)   a.   *qang* [tɕʰɑ̃], 'long' (= SM *cháng*)

           b.   *yang* [jɑ̃], 'sheep' (= SM *yáng*)

           c.   *zang* [tsɑ̃], central Tibet' (= AT *hzang*)

The final /*an*/ (*ai* + *n*) is realized as a nasalized unrounded lower mid front vowel [ɛ̃], as illustrated by (56):

(56)   a.   *zhan* [tʂɛ̃], 'stand' (= SM *zhàn*)

               b.   *gan* [kɛ̃], 'liver' (= SM *gān*)

               c.   *wandai* [wɑ̃ ⁿte], novice (= AT *wandai*)

The final /en/ (ə + n) is realized as a nasalized unrounded mid central vowel [ə̃], as illustrated by (57):

(57)   a.   *ren* [ɻə̃], 'person' (= SM *rén*)

           b.   *hen* [hə̃], 'wind' (= SM *fēng*)

           c   *jjhende* [jjə̃tə], 'usually' (= AT *jjhende*)

The final /ong/ (o + n) is realized as a nasalized rounded mid back vowel [õ], as illustrated by (58):

(58)   a.   *hong* [hõ], yellow' (= SM *huáng*)

           b.   *zhong* [ʈʂõ], 'to swell' (= SM *zhǒng*)

           c.   *dong* [tõ], 'ten thousand' (= AT *hdong*)

The final /in/ (i + n) is realized as a nasalized unrounded high front vowel [ĩ], as illustrated by (59):

(59)   a.   *pin* [pʰĩ], 'smooth' (= SM *píng*)

           b.   *lin* [lĩ], 'forest' (= SM *lín*)

The final /un/ (u + n) is realized as a nasalized unrounded high back vowel [ũ], as illustrated by (60):

(60)   a.   *gun* [gũ], 'stick' (= SM *gùn*)

           b.   *dun* [tũ], 'cold' (= SM *dòng*)

As illustrated by the examples, the finals /an/, /ang/, /en/ and /ong/ occur in both the Chinese and Tibetan parts of the lexicon, while /in/ and /un/ only occur in the Chinese part of the lexicon and they remain one of the few non-Tibetan features in Wutun phonology.

In addition to nasal finals, Wutun has a velar final transcribed as *k*. The velar final is phonetically realized as a relatively weak voiceless [ˣ] or voiced velar fricative [ˠ]. It can be combined with three vowel qualities transcribed as *a*, *o* and *e*.

The final /ak/ [ɐˣ] is realized as an unrounded back vowel of a rather indefinite quality, followed by a relatively weak voiceless velar fricative, as in (61):

(61)   a.   *dak* [tɐˣ], 'tiger' (= AT *hdak*)

               b.   *zhak* [ʈʂɐˣ], 'rock' (= AT *zhak*)

The final /ok/ [oˣ] is realized as a rounded mid or higher mid back vowel, followed by a relatively weak voiceless velar fricative, as in (62):

(62)   a.   *yok* [joˣ], 'down, under' (= AT *yok*)

               b.   *maidok* [metoˣ], 'flower' (= AT *medok*)

The final /ek/ [ɘˠ] is realized as a rounded mid or higher mid central vowel, followed by a relatively weak voiced velar fricative, as in (63):

(63)   a.   *dek* [tɘˠ], 'to bow' (= AT *hdek*)

               b.   *gek* [kɘˠ], 'dog' (= SM *gǒu*)

               c.   *shaitek* [ʂʰetʰɘˠ], 'tongue' (= SM *shétou*)

Presence of a velar final is originally a Tibetan feature and the sequences /ak/ and /ok/ are only attested in the Tibetan part of the lexicon, but the sequence /ek/ has also spread to the Chinese part of the lexicon (as in 63 b. and 63 c.).

2.4 Word stress

Word stress in bi- and polysyllabic words falls regularly on the final syllable. The examples (64) and (65) demonstrate stress patterns in bi- and polysyllabic words:

(64)   a.   *lhakang* [ɬa.'kʰã], 'temple'

               b.   *goze* [ko.'tsə], 'fruit'

               c.   *gutek* [ku.'tɘˠ], 'bone'

(65)   a.   *galamala* [ka.la.ma.'la], 'child'

                   b.   *dadada* [ta.ta.'ta], 'just: now'

                   c.   *yidaze* [i.ta.'ʦə], 'all'

A striking feature in Wutun phonology is the absence of tones, which separates Wutun from most of the Sinitic languages. Due to language contact with neighboring non-Sinitic languages (notably Amdo Tibetan and Bonan), Wutun seems to have lost tones that it originally had on the some earlier stage of its development. Therefore, minimal pairs based on tonal differences (in Proto-Mandarin) have been neutralized in Wutun. Consider:

(66)   a.   *da* [ta], 'to hit, big' (= SM *dǎ*, 'to hit' vs. *dà*, 'big')

                   b.   *tu* [tʰu], 'earth, to vomit' (= SM *tǔ*, 'earth' vs. *tù*, 'to vomit')

                   c.   *se* [sʰə], 'to die, four' (= SM *sǐ*, 'to die' vs. *sì*, 'four')

Like Amdo Tibetan, Wutun is best described as a language with no phonologically relevant suprasegmental distinctions at the level of isolated words. However, the contrast between regular vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/ and their long and tense counterparts /*ii*/ and /*uu*/ (see Section 2.2.2) might contain traces of earlier tonological opposition.

3 The Noun Phrase

This chapter discusses Wutun nominal morphology and noun phrase syntax. Nouns in Wutun occur as arguments of the verb or as topics or obliques in the clause. They can be marked for number, case, topicality and referentiality. Order of elements in the noun phrase is summarized in Section 3.1. Nominal number is discussed in Section 3.2 and case in Section 3.3. Section 3.4 deals with topic markers. Referentiality and definiteness are examined in Section 3.5.

Noun phrases in Wutun can have a noun, a pronoun or a nominalized verb phrase in their core. Demonstrative pronouns, numerals, classifiers, nominal quantifiers and attributive phrases are frequently used as modifiers of the head noun in a noun phrase. Section 3.6 describes pronouns. Numerals, classifiers and nominal quantifiers are discussed in Section 3.7 and attributive phrases in Section 3.8. Finally, the chapter concludes with the treatment of the coordination of noun phrases in Section 3.9.

3.1 Order of elements in the noun phrase

The order of noun phrase constituents is summarized by Figure 1:

Figure 1. *Noun phrase*

(Attr)   (Dem)   (Num)   N   (Dem)   (Num)   (Adj)

Where Attr=Attributive phrase, Dem=Demonstrative pronoun, Num=Numeral, N=Noun, Adj=Adjective

Nouns can be optionally modified by an attributive phrase, a demonstrative pronoun, a numeral or a derived adjective. While attributive phrases always precede the head noun and derived adjectives always follow the head noun, demonstrative pronouns and numerals can either precede or follow the head noun, as indicated by Figure 1.

Examples (67) and (68) illustrate the different orders of the demonstrative pronoun and the head noun. Demonstrative pronouns either precede the noun like in Mandarin Chinese (as in 67) or follow the noun like in Amdo Tibetan (as in 68):

    (67)   *je-ge*   *joze*
                 this-REF   table
                 'this table' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

    (68)   *joze*   *je-ge*
                 table   this-REF
                 'this table' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Numerals almost always follow the noun, as in (69). This word order is similar to Amdo Tibetan and other Tibetic languages. However, when numerals are used in combination with Chinese-based units of time (including the words *tian*, 'day', *yai*, 'month' and *nian*, 'year'), they precede the noun as in Mandarin Chinese (see the example 70):

    (69)   *qhichai*   *liang-ge*
                 car   two-REF
                 'two cars' (Bike)

(70)　　　*liang-ge*　　　*yai*
　　　　　two-REF　　　month
　　　　　'two months'(Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Attributive phrases in Wutun include genitive attributes and relative clauses connected with the head noun by the attributive marker -*de*. The attributive marker -*de* is originally a nominalizer and relative clauses in Wutun are formally nominalizations (see Sections 3.8 and 4.11). Attributive phrases obligatorily precede the head noun, as in (71) and (72):

(71)　　　*ngu-**de***　　　*zhawa*
　　　　　1SG-**ATTR**　　　disciple
　　　　　'my disciple'(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(72)　　　*gek~gek-**de***　　　　　　*banjhe-li-**de***　　　　　　*long*
　　　　　dog~dog-**ATTR**　　　　　　neck-LOC-**ATTR**　　　　　chain
　　　　　'the chain on the dog's neck (Nasty Dog)

Examples (73)-(75) illustrate noun phrases that are modified by both an attributive phrase and a demonstrative or a numeral:

(73)　　　*nga-n-**de***　　　　　　　　*je-ge*　　　　　*sanggaixong*
　　　　　1-COLL-**ATTR**　　　　　　this-REF　　　Wutun
　　　　　'this Wutun (village) of ours' (The Wutun Village)

(74)　　　*gguan-**de***　　　　　　　　*adia*　　　　*je-ge*
　　　　　temple-**ATTR**　　　　　　monk　　　this-REF
　　　　　'this monk in the monastery' (The Wutun Village)

(75)　　　*gu*　　　　*ban-**de***　　　*lhoma*　　　*wu-ge*
　　　　　that　　　class-**ATTR**　student　　five-REF
　　　　　'the five students in that class' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Adjectives in Wutun mostly display prototypical verbal behavior. They can occur as predicates and take aspect and evidential marking (see Sections 3.8.3 and 4.12). When used as attributes in noun phrases, adjectives require nominalization like verbs. However, unlike verbs that can only occur in attributive phrases that precede the noun, adjectives can occur either in attributive phrases that precede the noun or as derived adjectives that follow the

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noun. In (76) the noun is modified by both an attributive phrase preceding the head noun and a derived adjective following the head noun:

(76) *taima*   *qhi-**de***   *ren-ge*   *xho~xho-**de**-**ge***
      bike   ride-**ATTR**   person-REF   good~good-**NMLZ**-**REF**
      'a person who is a good biker (Lit. a biking person, a good one)' (Bike)

3.2 Nominal number

3.2.1 Preliminaries

Wutun makes a grammatical distinction between singular, paucal and plural. The paucal is marked by the suffix *-jhege* and the plural by the suffix *-dera ~ -duru*. In addition, the Chinese plural marker *-men* is occasionally used with +HUMAN nouns. Number marking in Wutun is conditioned not only by the number of noun referents, but also their referentiality. With referential nouns I mean nouns that refer to already identified entities, which can be indefinite (identified only by the speaker) or definite (identified by both the speaker and the hearer), while with non-referential nouns I mean arbitrary members of the class of entities described by the noun phrase (for definitions of referentiality in Asian languages, see Li and Thompson 1981: 126; Nagaya 2011: 589-591; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 26). When the referential noun is singular it often, but not always, takes the referential marker *-ge* (see Section 3.5). This marker has been analyzed as an indefinite singular marker in earlier publications (Chen 1982: 14; Chen 1986: 13; Janhunen et al 2008: 56). However, because this marker is also used with demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers, which all mark the noun phrase as referential, and it can also be used with definite singulars, I analyze it as a referential marker rather than indefinite singular marker. Plural referential nouns take either the paucal suffix *-jhege* or the plural suffix *-dera ~ -duru*. Non-referential nouns take no overt number marking, and their number is often ambiguous or determined by the context only. Number marking is also absent with referential nouns when the number is indicated by a numeral or a quantifier. The choice between the paucal and the plural is connected with both the number of noun referents and limitedness of the group. The paucal *-jhege* is used for small numbers (usually three to four entities). It can also be used to refer generic groups that

comprise a whole class of entities. The plural -*dera* ~ -*duru* is used for higher numbers and it often marks the group as limited. Wutun number markers are summarized by Table 3.

Table 3. *Number markers*

Ø	is used when the noun phrase is used non-referentially or when the number is expressed by numerals or quantifiers
-*jhege* (PAUC)	paucal
-*dera* ~ -*duru* (PL)	plural
-*men*	plural, can only be used with +HUMAN nouns

Wutun number marking system is an interesting example of structural convergence in which a Sinitic language has diverged from its genetic relatives and aligned to a Mongolic grammatical pattern. Number marking in Wutun differs drastically from other varieties of Mandarin Chinese, which typically have only one optional plural marker for +HUMAN nouns. Therefore, the development of the paucal-plural distinction is best explained by language contact. The Wutun system is functionally quite similar to the Bonan system, although the markers are not etymologically related. In Bonan, number marking is optional and intertwined with definiteness. Bonan distinguishes indefinite singular, paucal and plural number. Chen and Chinggeltei (1986: 84-86) and Wu (2003) analyze Bonan system as consisting of only singular, paucal and plural. According to Fried (2010: 68-71) Bonan also has a dual. The number marking system in Wutun has most probably developed due to language contact with Bonan, which is spoken in immediate vicinity of Wutun and is the only Mongolic language of the Amdo Sprachbund that makes the paucal-plural distinction.

3.2.2 Nominal stems not marked for number

Non-referential noun phrases are not marked for number. In (77), (78) and (79), the words *macio*, 'bird', *gui*, 'ghost', *rolang*, 'zombie' and *dianno*, 'computer' are used non-referentially to refer to arbitrary members of the class of entities described by the noun phrase, and not to any particular members of the class. Consider:

(77) **_maco_**   _jua-qhi-lai_
     bird   catch-go-1.IMP
     'We are catching birds! (Conversation 1_School)

(78) _gu_   _gai-li_   **_gui_**   _sho-de_   _bai-li_
     that   time-LOC   **ghost**   speak-NMLZ EQU.NEG-SEN.INF

     rolang   _sho-de_   _re_
     zombie   speak-NMLZ FACT
     'At that time one did not speak of ghosts, but of zombies.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(79) _gu-de_   _aba_   _mu_
     3SG-ATTR   father   TOP

     xaitang-li **_dianno_**   _yek-da_   _xho-li_
     school-LOC **computer** EXIST-CONSEQ   good-SEN.INF

     sho-ma-li
     say-RES.PO-SEN.INF
     'As for her father, he said that there should be a computer/ some computers at school.' (Conversation 1_School)

In (77) and (78) I have translated the nouns as plurals because plural reading can be inferred from the context; in (79) the number is left ambiguous and the noun _dianno_, 'computer' can refer either to one computer or several computers.

     Number marking is also absent when the number of a referential noun is expressed lexically by numerals and quantifiers:

(80) **_awo_**   _liang-ge_   _yida_   _zhan-she-ma-li_
     man   two-REF   together   stand-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
     'Two men were standing together…' (Beach)

(81) _nga-ha_   **_ma_**   _liang-ge_   _yek_
     1SG.OBL-OD **horse**   two-REF   EXIST
     'I have two horses.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(82) _gu-da_   **_lhakang_**   _do-li=a_
     there   **temple**   many-SEN.INF.INTERR
     'Are there many churches there?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

3.2.3 Paucal marker *-jhege*

Paucal is marked by the suffix *-jhege*. The origin of the paucal marker is the Mandarin Chinese quantifier *jǐ-ge* (几个), 'a few', 'several', which has been grammaticalized into paucal marker due to the influence of Bonan. Bonan has a paucal enclitic *=ʁula*, which may possibly be connected with number *ʁuran* 'three' + plural enclitic *=la* (Chen and Chingeltei 1986: 85-86). However, Bonan paucal can be used to refer to larger units than just three referents (Fried 2010: 72-73) and the same is true for Wutun.

The division between paucal and plural in Wutun is not clear-cut, but paucal basically indicates small numbers (usually three to four entities):

(83)　*jashe-de*　　*zhawa-**jhege***　　　*zang-li*　　*wanlan-di-li*
　　　 PN-ATTR　　 worker-**PAUC**　　　 Tibet-LOC　 do-PROGR-SEN.INF
　　　 '(A couple of) Jashe's workers are working in Tibet.
　　　 (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(84)　*lhoma-**jhege***　　　　　*jhan-lio=mu*
　　　 student-**PAUC**　　　　　 see-PFV=INTERR
　　　 'Did (the few) students see (her)?' (Conversation 1_School)

Moreover, the paucal marker can be used when the speaker is listing a small number of referents. When listing referents, it is added to the last noun in the list, as in (85):

(85)　*jashe*　　　 *da*　　　 *gu-de*　　 *adia*　　 *da*
　　　 PN　　　　　 and　　　 3SG-ATTR　 monk　　 and

　　　*asak-**jhege***　　　　 *bijin*　　 *qhi-gu-ma-li*
　　　 sister-in-law-**PAUC**　 Beijing　 go-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
　　　 'Jashe and the monk and the sister-in-law (of his family) went to Beijing.'
　　　 (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

While paucal is typically used for small numbers, it can also be used for large numbers when the noun refers to generic, unlimited group that comprises the entire class of entities. The plural, on the other hand, refers to specific, limited groups that comprise only some particular members of the class of entities. In (86) and (87) *ha-jhege*, Chinese-PAUC, 'Chinese people (in general)' and *zhowa-jhege*, herdsman-PAUC, 'herdsmen (in general)' are viewed as

generic classes of entities in contrast to specific, limited group *alak-dera*, lama-PL, 'the (particular) lamas (in that particular monastery)' illustrated by the example (88):

(86)   *ha-jhege*   *kuize-liangge*   *huan*
     Chinese-**PAUC**   chopstick-SOC   food

     xhe-di-li
     drink-PROGR-SEN.INF
     'Chinese people (in general) eat with chopsticks. (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(87)   *zhowa-jhege*   *binxhui*   *a-mende-ge*
     herdsman-**PAUC**   cold water   INTERR-like that-REF

     xhe-la   *ra*   *tuze*   *tintek*   *mi-li*
     drink-COND   even   stomach   pain   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
     'Even if the herdsmen (in general) drink cold water, they won't get stomachache.'(Cairangji)

(88)   *alak-dera*   *jja-la-li=a*
     lama-**PL**   visit-INCOMPL-SEN.INF=INTERR
     'Did you visit (all) the lamas (in that particular monastery)?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

More examples on the use of plural in expressing specific groups of entities are found in Section 3.2.4.

3.2.4 Plural marker *-dera* ~ *-duru*

The plural marker *-dera*, which also has a variant *-duru*, indicates larger numbers than paucal marker *-jhege*. The origin of Wutun plural marker *-dera* ~ *-duru* is unknown. In Bonan, plural is marked by an enclitic *=la* which is functionally equivalent but etymologically unrelated to the Wutun plural marker.

As noted above, plural marker in Wutun indicates large groups (usually more than three to four entities). In (89) the speaker is referring to the people of the whole country:

(89)   A: *ren-dera*   *a-mende-ge-li*
               person-**PL**   INTERR-like that-REF-SEN.INF
               'How are the people (in this country)?'

B: *ren-**dera**   *xaige*   *xho-li*
       person-PL   very   good-SEN.INF
       'The people (in this country) are very good.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

While paucal -*jhege* can be used to indicate generic and unlimited groups (see examples 86 and 87 in Section 3.2.3), plural -*dera* indicates both large number and a limited group. It is used for specific, limited groups like in (90) and (91):

(90)   *je*   *nguiwo-**dera*** *ngu*   *ngu-de*   *pa-dera*
         this   thing-PL   1SG   1SG-ATTR   friend-PL

         ka-gu-lio
         give-COMPL-PFV
         'I gave these (particular) goods to my friends.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(91)   *je-ge*   *jjekdo-**duru*** *yidaze-ha*
         this-REF   change-PL   all-OD

         yanca-la-gu-ge-lio
         (be)surprised-INCOMPL-COMPL-CAUS-PFV
         'These (particular) changes made everyone surprised.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The distinction between paucal and plural in Wutun is not always clear-cut, and the number marking still needs further research.

3.2.5 Plural markers -*men* and -*mu*

My data also contains one occurrence of Mandarin Chinese plural marker -*men* (SM *men* 们) so it seems that this plural marker is occasionally used in Wutun. The Chinese-based plural marker -*men* in my data appeared with a noun *niren*, 'a woman, as shown in (92):

(92)   *da*   *niren-**men*** *mu*   *hai-la*   *ra*
         then   woman-PL   TOP   EQU-COND   also

         cek-de-ge   *ra*   *da*
         take-NMLZ-REF   also   then

         ha   *ra*   *cek-lio*   *ze-li*
         Chinese   also   take-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
         'Then, as for wives, as for taking a wife, (our ancestors) took Chinese (wives) as well.' (The Wutun Village)

In Mandarin Chinese the plural marker *-men* is optional and it can only be used with +HUMAN nouns. As in Mandarin Chinese, the plural marker *-men* in Wutun is used with +HUMAN noun in my data. Earlier material (Xi 1983: 24) suggests that Wutun +HUMAN nouns have a plural marked with suffix *-mu*, e.g. *aba*, 'father': PL *aba-mu*, 'fathers'. In my data, the plural marker *-mu* is commonly used with personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun. It is used as a collective plural to indicate intimately connected groups (see Section 5.1 Personal pronouns). However, I have not found any examples of its uses with nouns in my data.

3.3 Case marking

As a result of language contact with neighboring non-Sinitic languages, Wutun has developed a system of nominal case declension. Wutun nominals can be marked for four non-core cases, locative, ablative, distributive and sociative. The locative case marker *-li* and the sociative case marker *-liangge* are based on Sinitic elements, while the ablative case marker *-la ~ -ra* and the distributive case marker *-na* are of unknown origin. The sociative case marker *-liangge* is a particularly interesting example of structural convergence, because it has its origins in Mandarin Chinese numeral 'two', but its grammatical function resembles sociative/comitative-intrumental case marking in Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund. Wutun case markers are summarized by Table 4.

Table 4. *Case markers*

Ø	indicates zero-marked nominative case
-li (LOC)	locative case; indicates location or destination
-la ~ -ra (ABL)	ablative case; indicates origin, locational source, spatial or temporal starting point of an action
-na (DISTR)	distributive case; indicates temporal duration and distribution of an action
-liangge (SOC)	sociative case; indicates accompaniment, instrument or medium of an action, semantic role of Force or causal relationship when combining clauses
-ha (OD)	optional dative; indicates semantically or pragmatically marked (e.g. contrastive) non-Agent arguments or involuntary Agents

In addition to the case markers discussed here, first and second person singular pronouns are obligatorily inflected for oblique case if they are used in a semantic role other than Agent. Wutun oblique case covers typical functions of accusative and dative cases in other languages, such as grammatical marking of Patients, Recipients, Experiencers and Possessors. Therefore, Wutun has a limited obligatory nominative-accusative system that only applies to first and second person singular pronouns. Third person pronouns and nouns do not have obligatory oblique case marking. However, Wutun has an optional dative marker -*ha*, which can be used with semantically or pragmatically marked (e.g. topical or contrastive) non-Agent arguments and with some Agent arguments (usually involuntary Agents). Oblique case marking is discussed in Sections 3.6.1.2 and 8.2.2 and optional dative marking in Sections 3.3.5 and 8.4.

3.3.1 Locative case -*li*

Locative case is marked by a suffix -*li* (Mandarin Chinese *lĭ* 里, 'inside'). The primary function of the locative case is, as expected, to indicate the location where a state-of-an affair takes place:

(93)   *gu-de*   *she-**li***   *wa*   *do*   *la*
          3SG-ATTR home-**LOC** man   many   SEN.INF.INTERR
          'There are many men in his family…' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(94)   *ggaiggan*   *lhokang-**li***   *huaiqa*   *kan-di-li*
          teacher   classroom-**LOC**   book   read-PROGR-SEN.INF
          'The teacher is reading a book in the classroom.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The locative case can also indicate the location towards which the action or motion is directed:

(95)   *ngu*   *rongbo-**li***   *qhi-zhe*
          1SG   Longwu-**LOC**   go-PROSP
          'I am going to Longwu.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(96) *ngu-jhege-de*　　　　　　*soso*　　*qe-de*
　　　1-PAUC-ATTR　　　　　　grandmother eat-ATTR

　　　gu　　　　*ti*　　　　*she-li*　　*do*
　　　that　　　place　　　on-LOC　　arrive
　　　'My grandmother and I arrived to the place where we were going to eat…'
　　　(Blind Grandmother）

　　With place names the locative case is optional and can be omitted:

(97) *gu*　　　　*jhang*　　*rongbo(-li)*　　　　*do-lio*
　　　3SG　　　today　　　Longwu(-LOC)　　　arrive-PFV

　　　ze-li
　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　'S/he arrived at Longwu today.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

As the examples above show, Wutun has a cross-linguistically rather typical locative case that expresses both the location and the destination of the action, which is common for locative cases in small local case systems consisting of locative and ablative (see Blake 2001: 151).

3.3.2 Ablative case *-la ~ -ra*

Ablative case is marked by a suffix *-la* (origin unknown), which also has a variant *-ra*. In terms of function, the ablative case in Wutun indicates origin or locational source of an action (as in 98 and 99), or starting point of an action in temporal expressions (as in 100 and 101), all of which are cross-linguistically common functions for ablatives:

(98) *aga*　　　*dadada*　　*gguan-la*　　*lai-lio*
　　　elder brother just　　　temple-ABL　come-PFV
　　　'Elder brother just came from the temple.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(99) *gunse-la*　　　　　　　*ha-lai-gu-ge-lio*
　　　company-ABL　　　　　come:down-come-COMPL-CAUS-PFV

　　　ze-li
　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　'(S/he) was dismissed from the company.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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(100) *menzo-la*   *nga*   *ra*   *kuanba*
       tomorrow-**ABL**   1SG.OBL   also   free time

       mi-yek
       EXIST.NEG
       'From tomorrow I will be busy.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(101) *caixi-la*   *da*   *gu*   *be-lai-yek*
       tonight-**ABL** then   3SG   NEG-come-EGO
       'From tonight on, he (the zombie) doesn't come anymore. (ELDP, corpus
       WT09_4)

Unlike locative case, which is optional with place names (see Section 4.2.1), ablative
case is always used with place names when they express the locational source of an action:

(102) *rongbo-ra*   *lai-de*   *kuli*   *gu*
       Longwu-**ABL**come-ATTR time   3SG   that

       zhuan-she   *qhi-de*   *kuli*
       change-RES.AO   go-ATTR   time

       kai   *yi-ge*   *rang*   *huan-gu*
       drive   one-REF   person   change-COMPL
       'When they are coming back from Longwu, he is driving, (and) when they are
       going (to Longwu), he has to let someone else drive. (Conversation 2_Thangkas,
       Smoking and Car)

Ablative case marker is often attached to numerals, as in (103):

(103) *dong*   *wu-ge-ra*
       thousand   five-REF-**ABL**

       wu   *bai*   *jhenze*   *qan*   *ka-de*
       five   hundred   gold   money   give-NMLZ

       yo   *ye*
       must   EMPH
       'From five thousand (yuan), you have to give five hundred (yuan as a) payment
       for gold.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Ablative case marker is used with demonstrative and interrogative stems to form certain
demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (see Sections 3.6.2 and 3.6.3 for a more complete
discussion). For example, the ablative can be attached to the interrogative stem *a-*, yielding
the interrogative *a-ra*, 'from where', and it is also used with distal demonstrative stems *gu-*
and *wu-* yielding the forms *gu-ra* and *wu-ra*, 'from there':

(104) A: *a-ra*   *zhai-lio*
           what-**ABL**   pick-**PFV**
           'From where did you pick up (the ears of wheat)?'

       B: *xaitang-de*   *wu-ra*
           school-**ATTR** DIST-**ABL**
           '(We picked the ears of wheat) there near the school.'
           (Conversation 1_School)

The choice between the variants *-la* and *-ra* is still unclear. One possible explanation could be a dialectal variation. Although the speakers of Wutun form so small and geographically coherent population that there are no significant dialectal differences, on the basis of my data it seems that there might be some minor differences between the language of Jiacangma and the two principal Wutun villages (see Section 1.2.3). According to my data, the speakers from principal Wutun villages seem to favor the ablative marker *-la*, while the Jiacangma speakers used predominantly the variant *-ra*. The examples (98)-101) are from the speaker grown up in Wutun, while examples (102)-(104) are spoken by the speakers from Jiacangma.

3.3.3 Distributive case *-na*

Distributive is a case with a rather limited occurrence. In my data, it is mainly used in time expressions to indicate temporal duration (as in 105) or distribution (as in 106 and 107) of an action:

(105) *adia*   *jhang~jhang*   *yi-tian-na*
       monk   today~today   one-day-**DISTR**

       xhen-ma
       walk-**COORD**

       tianshe   *shang-qhi-gu-lio-ra*
       upwards   rise-go-**COMPL**-**PFV**-**COND**
       'When the monk had walked the whole day, he reached the high point to pass…
       (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(106) *ngu*   *je*   *jhi-tian-na*   *mi*   *qe-lio*
       1SG   this   few-day-**DISTR**   rice   eat-**PFV**
       'During the last few days I have eaten rice.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(107) gudaxi   co-ma   wu   tian-**na**   co-ma-da
       there   stay-COORD five   day-**DISTR** stay-RES.PO-CONSEQ
       '(People) stay there (in tents) for five days…' (Village Festivals)

Distributive case can also be added to the verb phrases expressing habitual action. When used in verb phrases, the distributive marker is used together with progressive aspect marker -*di*, as in (108) in which the speaker is commenting his neighbor's habit to always smoke a cigarette immediately after getting up in the morning:

(108) co   she   co
       early   EQU   early

       qhi-di-**na**   yan   za-ra
       get up-PROGR-**DISTR** tobacco   smoke-COND

       be-xho-li
       NEG-good-SEN.INF
       'Smoking early in the morning doesn't matter, but it is not good to smoke immediately after getting up every morning.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

3.3.4 Sociative case -*liangge*

Sociative case in Wutun covers the functions of comitative and instrumental. Functionally similar case is present in several Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund. I use the term *sociative* instead of *comitative-instrumental* to distinguish this case from old Mongolic comitative and instrumental cases that were present already in Proto-Mongolic (Janhunen 2003: 15) and have no etymological relationship with the sociative case marker in modern Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund. Similar terminology is also favored by several other scholars working on languages of the region (e.g. Wu 2003; Janhunen et al 2008). Sociative case is marked by a bisyllabic element -*liangge*, which is a compound of Mandarin Chinese numeral *liǎng* (两), 'two' and the general classifier *ge* (个), reanalyzed as a referential marker in Wutun. The same element *liangge* still functions as a numeral in Wutun. Examples (109)-(111) illustrate the use of *liang-ge* as a numeral. Numeral *liang-ge* is used both as a simple numeral 'two' (as in 109) and as a collective numeral 'two together' (as in 110 and 111):

(109) nga-ha   ma   **liang-ge**   yek
       1SG.OBL-OD   horse   **two-REF**   EXIST
       'I have two horses.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(110) da   ngu   **liang-ge**   wa-ge   she-la
       then   1   **two-REF**   hill-REF   climb-COND
       'Then we two climbed to a hill…' (Bike)

(111) da   ha   da   ma   **liang-ge**
       then   father   and   mother   **two-REF**

       du-de   gaiqa   sho-ma   qhi-li
       alone-ATTR   language speak-COORD   start-SEN.INF
       'Then the father and the mother (of the families who were the ancestors of the
       Wutun people) came to speak their own mother tongues…' (The Wutun Village)

The use of numeral *-liangge* in a comitative function is most probably based on the semantic extension of the collective numeral 'two together'. The use of comitative case is then further extended to cover also the instrumental function, since as is generally known, instrumentals typically develop from comitatives (Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2006: 362). In (112), the sociative case indicates accompaniment. An alternative way to express accompaniment is the periphrastic attributive phrase construction *-de yida* (*de yīdā* 的一搭) (as in 113), which consists of the postposition *yida*, 'together' connected to the preceding noun with the attributive marker *-de*:

(112) ngu   ngu-de   *tixang-**liangge***   qhi-zhe
       1SG   1SG-ATTR younger brother-**SOC** go-PROSP
       'I will go together with my younger brother.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(113) ngu   ni-***de***   **yida**   qhi-gu-qhe-de   re
       1SG   2SG-**ATTR**   **together** go-COMPL-be able-NMLZ   FACT
       'I can go together with you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The instrumental functions of sociative case include the instrument (as in 114 and 115) and the medium through which the action is accomplished (as in 116):

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(114) *gu*   *agu*   *shetek-**liangge***   *zhaze*
       that   girl   rock-SOC   window

       da-pe-lio   *ze-li*
       hit-get broken-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'That girl broke the window with a rock.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(115) *adia*   *xan*   *daijhe-**liangge***   *getan-lio*
       monk   cord   knife-SOC   cut-PFV

       ze-li
       EXEC-SEN.INF
       'The monk cut the cord with a knife.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(116) *gu-jhege*   *hahua-**liangge***   *daimo*   *wan-di-li*
       3-PAUC   Chinese-SOC   performance   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'They are performing in Chinese.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In addition to instrument and accompaniment, sociative case is used to indicate inanimate forces that cause the event, but cannot act intentionally and control the action:

(117) *qho-ha*   *qelok-**liangge***   *gang-gu-lio*
       bridge-OD   flood-SOC   flush-COMPL-PFV

       ze-li
       EXEC-SEN.INF
       'The bridge was flushed away by the flood.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(118) *qhiqhek-ha*   *hen-**liangge***   *qui-qhi-lio*   *ze-li*
       balloon-OD   wind-SOC   blow-go-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'The balloon was blown away by the wind.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(119) *nga*   *zhenqak-**liangge***   *zhowa*   *mi-li*
       1SG.OBL   flu-SOC   appetite   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
       'Because I got a flu, I lost my appetite.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Typical inanimate causers of the event include natural forces (as in 117 and 118) and illnesses (as in 119), all of which occupy the semantic role of Force. The Patient is topicalized by fronting it to the preverbal position it occurs with the optional dative marker *-ha*, which marks topical, thematically important non-agent arguments (see Section 8.3.4), while the Force is marked with the sociative case marker *-liangge*.

Even though Wutun has not acquired the absolute-ergative type of alignment otherwise, the use of sociative *-liangge* to express Force in Wutun resembles the use of ergative-instrumental case in Amdo Tibetan. Amdo Tibetan has an ergative-instrumental case marker *-i ~ -gi*, which is used both in ergative function to indicate animate intentional Agents of transitive sentences and in instrumental function to indicate instruments. In addition, Amdo Tibetan ergative-instrumental case can be used to express Force like the Wutun sociative case (see Wang 1995: 12-14).

In addition to nouns, sociative marker *-liangge* can be attached to nominalized verb phrases that function as adverbial subordinate clauses (Section 10.3.3.1). The nominalized verb phrase with the sociative case means 'because of' or 'as soon as' as in (120):

(120) *dak*   *jhan-lio-de-**liangge***
    tiger   see-PFV-NMLZ-**SOC**

    ren   *yidaze*   *haipa-gu-lio*   *ze-li*
    person all   (be) afraid-COMPL-PFV EXEC-SEN.INF
    'Because of seeing a tiger, all the people were frightened.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The sociative case marker is also used to derive discourse connectors from the distal demonstrative pronouns *gu* and *gu~gu*, yielding the lexicalized forms *gu-liangge*, DIST-SOC, and *gu~gu-liangge*, DIST~DIST-SOC, 'therefore' (see Section 5.3.1 for a discussion of discourse connectors). These forms are used to connect two independent clauses as in (121). They indicate cause or reason:

(121) *gejhai-mu-de*   *sanggaixong*
    self-COLL-ATTR   Wutun

    gejhai-mu-de   *rangxhen*
    self-COLL-ATTR   nature

    da   *qheqi*   *yek-de*
    and   characteristics   EXIST-ATTR

    men-de *zhi-la-she-ma-de*   *men-de*
    like that become-INCOMPL-RES.AO-RES.PO-ATTR like that

    ra   *hua*   *do-li*
    also speech many SEN.INF

    gu-liangge *jhang menzai*   *conjena*
    DIST-SOC nowadays   as for this

    je-de   *hua*   *je-ge-ha*
    this-ATTR language this-REF-OD

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xijjek	*ze-di-de*		*ren*
research	do-PROGR-ATTR		person

ra	*zaige*	*do-li*
also	quite	many-SEN.INF

'Our own Wutun language, with its own nature and characteristics, came to have many linguistic elements of its own. Therefore, as for the situation today, there are quite a few people doing research on it.' (The Wutun Village)

The broad meaning of the sociative case marker *-liangge* in Wutun can be explained on the basis of universal principles of conceptual space on one hand and areal interference on the other hand. Stolz (2001: 171-172) and Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006: 120-130) have shown that instrumentals are conceptually closely related notions to both comitatives and ergatives/agentives, which is often reflected in formal case syncretism (although it is very rare to have an identical marker for all the three notions). In ergative languages, it is common to have instrumental/ergative case syncretism, because both ergative and instrumental express the cause of an event (Stolz 2001). The same principle explains the use of sociative marker to express instruments, Forces and reason clauses in Wutun: they all indicate cause. Sociative case markers, that cover a wide variety of comitative and instrumental functions, and partially overlap with functions of Amdo Tibetan ergative case, are also common in other languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, so the different uses of *-liangge* in Wutun have most probably been motivated by language contact.

In addition, the origin of the sociative case marker in Wutun appears to be unusual from a cross-linguistic perspective. According to the literature on comitatives and related categories, the numeral 'wo' is cross-linguistically quite uncommon source for comitatives and instrumentals; it is for example not mentioned in recent work on grammaticalization of comitatives and related categories (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 329; Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2006: 357-361). Widely attested sources for comitatives include the verbs 'follow' and 'take' and the nouns 'friend' and 'comrade'. The numeral 'one' is also mentioned (Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2006: 357-361). However, sociative-like cases combining comitative and instrumental functions and based on numeral 'two' are very common in the languages of Amdo Sprachbund and they seem to be one of the most prominent areal features of this particular linguistic area. Sociatives based on numeral 'two' have been documented in Sinitic languages Linxia, Xining and Gangou (Dwyer 1992: 167; Zhu et al 1997: 445) and Mongolic languages Bonan and Santa (Chen and Chinggeltei 1986: 121-122; Dwyer 1992: 166; Wu 2003: 334; Fried 2010: 60). It seems plausible that the Sinitic languages, which usually lack case, are

replicating the Mongolic grammatical pattern and several genetically unrelated languages spoken in the same geographical area have undergone similar grammaticalization process due to areal interference.

Bonan has a grammatical marker =ʁala (*ghwala*) based on the numeral ʁar (*ghwar*), 'two', which is functionally very similar to Wutun sociative marker -*liangge* and has probably served as a model of grammaticalization for the Wutun sociative. Wu (2003) analyzes this marker as a sociative case marker. According to him, the sociative marker in Qinghai Bonan is mainly used in its instrumental function, while in Gansu Bonan the same marker is also used in the comitative function (Wu 2003: 344). Fried (2010) presents an alternative analysis in his grammar of Qinghai Bonan. According to him, the Qinghai Bonan marker =ʁala (*ghwala*) has two distinct functions: it can mark either instrumental case or dual number. The same analysis might be applied to Wutun as well and the examples (41), (42) and (43) could be alternatively analyzed as dual number marking; however, my data also contains examples where -*liangge* is combined with other number markers and this suggests that it is not a dual number marker (see Section 3.6.1.1).

3.3.5 Optional dative marker -*ha*

In addition to case markers discussed in Sections 3.3.1 – 3.3.4, Wutun has an element -*ha*, which at least to some extent participates in case marking system. Its key function is to highlight semantically or pragmatically marked non-Agent arguments or involuntary Agents. In (122) -*ha* is used with the highly affected Patient that is the focus of the speaker's attention:

(122)   *zhawa-de*   *ro-**ha***
             disciple-ATTR   corpse-**OD**

             tu-li   *xaima-li*   *mai-she-ma*
             earth-LOC   sand-LOC   bury-RES.AO-COORD
             'The disciple's corpse, (he) buried it in the sandy soil, and then…'
             (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In my data, -*ha* occurs with various semantic roles, including Recipients, Causees, Patients, Experiencers, Possessors and even locative phrases and certain types of Agents (usually involuntary Agents). However, -*ha* is never obligatory and its use is exclusively determined by semantic factors, such as disambiguating between possible Agents in clauses with two

highly animate arguments as well as marking the most affected participant, or by pragmatic factors, such as expressing contrast. It participates in Differential Object Marking and Differential Goal Marking. I will suggest that *-ha* has probably originated as a topic marker, which has then evolved towards "optional" or "pragmatic" case marker[1] (for introduction to pragmatic case marking in Tibeto-Burman languages, see e.g. DeLancey 2011). The semantic and pragmatic factors conditioning the use of *-ha* are discussed thoroughly in Section 8.4.

3.4 Topic marking

Nouns, pronouns and nominalized verb phrases frequently occur as topics in the clause. The topic is an element, whose identity has already been established in the discourse and which conveys information that the sentence is about. It always occurs in clause-initial position. The topic in Wutun can be morphologically unmarked, or it can take one of the several topic markers, including the topic marker *mu* (as in 123), the topic marker *hai-la ~ hai-ra* (as in 124):

> (123) | *da* | *jaicangma* | *ddaiba-de* | *dicen* | ***mu*** | *sho-de* |
> | then | Jiacangma | village-ATTR | festival | **TOP** | say-NMLZ |
>
> | *ra* | *nianha-ge* | | *yek-li=mu* |
> | also | blind eye-REF | | EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR |
>
> 'The festivals of the Jiacangma village, to say (something about them), there is Losar…' (Village Festivals)

> (124) | *ayi-jhege* | ***hai-la*** | *zowo* | *da* |
> | woman-PAUC | **EQU-COND** | main thing | then |
>
> | *tian* | *zhun-ma* | | *menzai* |
> | field | cultivate-COORD | | like that |
>
> | *ze-di-de* | | *gu-li* |
> | do-PROGR-NMLZ | | that-SEN.INF |
>
> 'As for women (in our village), the most important thing (for them to do) is to work in the field.' (The Wutun Village)

---

[1] The choice of the term 'optional dative' was discussed together with Dr. Seppo Kittilä. It stresses both the pragmatic nature and case marking functions of *-ha*. The optional dative marker *-ha* is most systematically used with Recipients, which is the key function of dative case. In addition, several linguists use the label 'dative' for functionally related, optional case marker in Amdo Tibetan. Amdo Tibetan 'dative' has a broad function and it marks not only Recipients and locations, but also Patients (Dede 2007: 872).

A more detailed definition of topic, as well as functions of different types of topics are discussed in Section 8.3.

3.5 Referentiality and definiteness

Referentiality and definiteness are two closely related but distinct notions. Referentiality has been defined in many different ways, and there is still much debate over the definitions (see Payne 1997: 264; Lyons 1999). However, most of the definitions of referentiality in Asian languages stress that a noun or a nominalized noun phrase is referential when it is used to refer to an entity (see Li and Thompson 1981: 126; Nagaya 2011: 589-591; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 26) and this definition is also valid for Wutun. Referential nouns in Wutun can be defined as nouns that refer to already identified entities, which can be indefinite (identified by the speaker) or definite (identified by the speaker and the addressee), while non-referential nouns denote arbitrary members of the class of entities described by the noun phrase. In (125) the referential noun *yegai*, 'a letter' refers to a particular, identified (definite) entity, while in (126) the non-referential noun *bozhe* 'a newspaper/newspapers' refers to arbitrary member(s) of the class of entities, and not to any particular newspaper:

(125) *ngu*   *yegai-**ge***   *xai-lio*
      3SG   letter-**REF**   write-PFV
      'I wrote a letter.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(126) *gu*   *xhe-de*   *jjhorai*   *bozhe*   *kan-de*
      3SG   drink-ATTR   while   newspaper   read-NMLZ

      gga-la-li
      like-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
      'S/he likes to read newspaper while eating.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Wutun noun phrases can be marked as referential by the suffix *-ge* (as in 126), while non-referential noun phrases are zero-marked (as in 127). With plural noun phrases number marking is connected with referentiality. Non-referential noun phrases are not overtly marked for number, while referential plural noun phrases take the paucal marker *-jhege* or the plural marker *-dera* (see Section 3.2).

The suffix *-ge* has its origins in Mandarin Chinese general classifier *-ge* (个). Studies on Sinitic languages have shown the close relationship between classifiers and referentiality; classifiers in Sinitic languages typically function as noun phrase markers to individuate referential entities (Li and Thompson 1981: 126; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 21). In addition to their referential meaning, classifiers are used to indicate the semantics (e.g. animacy, physical properties or functional properties) of their noun referents. However, Wutun has lost most of its classifiers with a specific meaning and unlike the use of numeral classifiers in Standard Mandarin, the use of *-ge* in Wutun is not determined by the semantics of its noun referent. However, it still retains its referential meaning and therefore I gloss it as a referential marker. The use of *-ge* is not obligatory in all referential noun phrases in Wutun, so its occurrence alone cannot serve to distinguish referential noun phrases from non-referential ones. However, non-referential noun phrases never take *-ge* so if the noun phrase has *-ge* it must be referential.

The most obvious examples of the use of *-ge* as a referential marker are noun phrases with numerals or demonstrative pronouns. Noun phrases with numerals and demonstrative pronouns are always referential because they are used to refer to already identified entities. The referential marker *-ge* is often used after numerals (as in 127 and 128) and demonstrative pronouns (as in 129):

(127) *awo*   *liang-ge*   *yida*   *zhan-she-ma-li*
       man   two-REF   together   stand-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
       'Two men were standing together.' (Beach)

(128) *men-ge*   *so*   *she-la*   *xan*   *yi-ge*
       door-REF   lock   on-ABL   cord   one-REF

       qe-ma   *lai-ma*
       tie-COORD   come-COORD
       'You have to tie a cord to the lock in your door …' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(129) *lha*   *hua-di-de*   *je-ge*
       deity   paint-PROGR-NMLZ   this-REF

       nga-n-de   *je-ge*   *suan-de*
       1-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   Tibetan-ATTR

       sojjhen-de   *mende-ge*   *hai-li*
       traditional-NMLZ   like that-REF   EQU-SEN.INF
       'This thangka painting, it is our Tibetan tradition, that's what it is.' (The Wutun Village)

Referential noun phrases can be indefinite or definite. Indefinite noun phrase refers to an entity that is identified by the speaker, but the speaker does not expect it to be identified by the addressee. Definite noun phrase, on the other hand, refers to an entity that is identified by both the speaker and the addressee. Wutun has no direct equivalent for indefinite and definite articles, but numerals, demonstratives and quantifiers can be used to encode definiteness. Demonstrative pronouns *je*, 'this' and *gu*, 'that' can be used to mark the noun phrase as definite, while indefiniteness can be indicated by numerals or quantifiers. For example, in (129) the demonstrative pronoun *je-ge*, 'this' marks the noun phrase as definite. Indefiniteness can be expressed by adding the numeral *yi-ge*, 'one' after the noun, as illustrated by (128). In Wutun, numerals usually follow the noun like in Amdo Tibetan (with the only exception being certain combinations with units of time, where numerals precede the noun like in Standard Mandarin). With singular referential nouns, *-ge* can be attached directly after the noun without the intervening numeral *yi*, 'one' (as in 130):

(130) *je*   *nian*   *nga-n-de*   *dojjai*
       this   year   1-COLL-ATTR   PN

       qhichai-ge *mai-she-lio*
       car-**REF**   buy-RES.AO-PFV
       'This year our Dojjai bought a car. (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Referential marker *-ge* can be used to give the sentence a distributive, non-collective meaning. In (131) emphasis is on the each individual of the group:

(131) *ren-ge-ha*   *dong*   *yi-zek-ma* *ek*   *bai*
        person-**REF**-OD   thousand   one-COORD   two   hundred
       'Each person (gets) one thousand and two hundred (when we sell our thangka and share the money). (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

In addition to their referential use, noun phrases can also be used non-referentially to refer to properties of the noun phrase or arbitrary members of the class of entities described by a noun phrase. Non-referential noun phrases are never marked by *-ge*. In (132), the nominal *mokshong*, 'border guard(s)' is used to express a profession of the ancestors of the Wutun people. It denotes a property instead of referring to any particular individual(s). In (133), the noun *lhoma*, 'student' denotes a property that the subject/topic *gu*, 'he/she' has, and does not refer to any particular student:

(132) *da*   *jjhawo*   *cherajan-de* *ggai*   *gu~gu-li*
       then   king   PN-ATTR   time   that~that-LOC

       da   *menzai*   *mokshong*   *ze-ma*
       then   like that   border guard   do-COORD
       'Then, at the king Cherajan's time, (our ancestors) served as border guards…'
       (The Wutun Village)

(133) *gu*   *lhoma*   *hai-li*
       3SG   student   EQU-SEN.INF
       'S/he is a student.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Example (134) provides another example of a non-referential noun. The noun *pigo*, 'apples', denotes arbitrary members of the class of entities, and does not refer to any particular apples:

(134) *ngu*   *pigo*   *gga-la-yek*
       1SG   apple   like-INCOMPL-EGO
       'I like apples.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Further evidence for the referential nature of the suffix *-ge* is provided by its use with nominalized clauses. Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona (2011: 26) have noted that since nominalization is a process of forming nominal entities, the primary function of nominalization is referential in nature. In Wutun, nominal complement clauses that are used referentially as arguments of the verb in the matrix clause frequently take *-ge*. Consider:

(135) *jashe*   *qe-di-de-ge*   *ngu*   *jhan-lio*
       PN   eat-PROGR-NMLZ-**REF**   1SG   see-PFV
       'I saw that Jashe was eating (lit. Jashe's eating, I saw it).' (Cairangji)

Nominalizations in Wutun are also commonly used non-referentially, like in adverbial subordinate clauses, attributive phrases and exclamations. Nominalized clauses used non-referentially are not marked with *-ge*. In (136) the attributive phrase[2] *xhe-qhi-de* drink-go-ATTR functions as a relative clause to restrict the reference of the head noun *dico*, 'time', and it does not refer to an entity. Therefore, it is not marked by the referential marker *-ge*:

---

[2] Genitive attributes and relative clauses in Wutun are marked by the attributive marker *-de*, whose primary meaning is nominalization. I will gloss them as ATTR, 'Attributive phrases' (see Section 4.7).

(136)   *ngu-jhege*   *cha*   *xhe-qhi-de*   *dico*   *yek*
           1-PAUC   tea   drink-go-**ATTR**   time   EXIST
           'We have time to drink tea.' (Cairangji)

Referential and non-referential uses of nominalization constructions are discussed in detail in Sections 4.11 and 10.2.

While -*ge* can be used to mark the noun as referential, it is not used exclusively with all the referential nouns and its use is therefore motivated not only by syntactic but also pragmatic factors. When used in story-telling or conversations, -*ge* introduces foregrounded participants or entities, which will figure importantly in subsequent discourse. Consider:

(137)   *zang-li*   *do-gu-ma-da*
           Tibet-LOC   arrive-COMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

           zang-li   *da*   *adia*   *lama-**ge***   *yek-de*
           Tibet-LOC   then   monk   lama-**REF**   EXIST-NMLZ

           gu   ***lama***   *jja-la*   *qhi-de*   *kuli*
           3SG   **lama**   visit-INCOMPL   go-ATTR   time

           da   *ao*   *da*   *ni*   *zang-li*
           then   INTJ   now   2SG   Tibet-LOC

           lai-lio-ma   *xho-li*
            come-PFV-COORD   good-SEN.INF

           ni   *yi-ge*   *rang*   *lai-lio=mu*
           2SG   one-REF   person   come-PFV=INTERR
           'When they had arrived to Tibet, the monk knew one lama there and when he went to visit the lama, (the lama said): Oh, you have arrived to Tibet. That is good. Did you come alone?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In (137), the speaker uses -*ge* to introduce the participant *lama*, which will be the main protagonist in the subsequent storyline. The use of -*ge* indicates a switch of speaker's attention from the participant *adia*, 'monk' to the new participant *lama*. As illustrated by (137), it is common that -*ge* is used when the new, foregrounded participant is mentioned for the first time, while it can be omitted when the same participant is mentioned for the second time. However, sometimes -*ge* is used when the foregrounded entity is repeated in the discourse, as in (138) where the speaker emphasizes the importance of the entity *daijhe*, 'a knife' for the major storyline:

(138)   *nia*   *ni*   *bai-qhi*   *sho-ma*
            2SG.OBL   2SG   PROH-go   QUOT-RES

            zhawa-de   *banjhe-li*
            disciple-ATTR   neck-LOC

            *daijhe-**ge***   *ngan-lio*   *ze-li*   *menzai*
            knife-**REF**   press-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF   like that

            *daijhe-**ge***   *ngan-lio*   *ze-li*
            knife-**REF**   press-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF

            *daijhe-**ge***   *ngan-di-da*   *da*   *adia*   *sho-de*
            knife-**REF**   press-PROGR-CONSEQ   then   monk   say-NMLZ

            da   *zhawa-ha*   *ni*   *bai-qhi*
             then   disciple-OD 2SG   PROH-go
            'You, should not go (to Tibet) (the lama) said and pressed a knife on the disciple's neck, like this. He pressed the knife. As he was pressing the knife, the monk said: 'Disciple, you should not go.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Pragmatically motivated functions of *-ge* resemble the foregrounding function of Mandarin Chinese classifiers. Studies on Chinese classifiers have shown that in addition to their individuating and classifying function, the classifiers are also used to introduce salient, foregrounded participants into discourse (Li 2000: 1113).

To sum up, Wutun referential marker *-ge* functions at two linguistic levels. On the syntactic level, it functions as a noun phrase marker that individuates referential entities. Referential noun phrases can be either indefinite or definite. Indefinite noun phrases are often marked by the numeral *yi*, 'one', while definite noun phrases can be marked by the demonstrative pronouns *je*, 'this' and *gu*, 'that'. However, *-ge* is not used with all the referential nouns and pragmatic factors operating at discourse level determine whether it is used or not. At the discourse level, *-ge* is used for foregrounding salient participants/entities that will be prominent figures in subsequent discourse.

3.6 Pronouns

As in other languages, pronouns in Wutun function as substitutes for nouns and they always refer to entities whose identity is already established in the discourse. Pronouns occur both as the head nouns and as the modifiers of the head noun (e.g. demonstratives can be used to either substitute the head noun or express the spatial deixis of the head noun), and they

frequently occur alone as noun phrases. Pronouns in Wutun include personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns that are also used as indefinite pronouns and the reflexive/emphatic pronoun, which also functions as a reciprocal pronoun. Personal pronouns are discussed in Section 3.6.1 and demonstrative pronouns in Section 3.6.2. Section 3.6.3 examines interrogative and indefinite pronouns and the chapter concludes with the treatment of reflexive/reciprocal pronoun in Section 3.6.4.

3.6.1 Personal pronouns

All of the Wutun personal pronouns are of Sinitic origin. The use of *ng* (ŋ) as an initial consonant of the first person pronoun is a typical diagnostic feature for Xunhua dialect group of Northwest Mandarin (Dede 2003: 332), which is a Mandarin dialect group geographically closest to the Wutun-speaking area. The third person pronoun *gu* is also a Northwest Mandarin item which has cognates in several other Sinitic languages of the region. Wutun personal pronouns are summarized by Table 5.

Table 5. *Personal pronouns*

	SG.NOM	SG.OBL	PAUC	COLL
1P	*ngu*	*nga*	*ngu-jhege*	*nga-mu*
2P	*ni*	*nia*	*ni-jhege*	*ni-mu*
3P	*gu*		*gu-jhege*	*gu-mu*

First person and second person singular pronouns are inflected in oblique case when they occupy a semantic role other than intentional Agent, but the third person singular pronoun has no oblique form. There are two series of plural personal pronouns: non-collective plural pronouns formed by the paucal marker *-jhege* and collective plural pronouns formed by the collective plural marker *-mu*. Collective plural occurs only in the inflection of personal pronouns; nouns have no collective plural.

The Standard Mandarin third person pronoun *ta* (*tā* 他/她) is also occasionally used in Wutun. In my data it mainly appears in reported speech clauses as a subject/topic of indirect report:

(139)   **ta**   *zang-ge*   *jja-la*   *qhi-zhe*   *sho-ma*
        3SG   Tibet-REF   visit-COND   go-PROSP   QUOT-RES

        alak-ge-ha   *longdan*   *xui-la-lio*
        monk-REF-OD   prediction   ask-INCOMPL-PFV
        'Since he said that he intended to go to Tibet, he went to ask the lama for a
        prediction.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

There are no genuine possessive pronouns in Wutun. The possessive forms are composed of personal pronouns and the attributive marker *-de*, (originally a nominalizer), which is used in nominal attribution to connect genitive attributes, relative clauses and adjective attributes to the head noun (see Sections 3.8. and 4.11). Consider:

(140)   *je*   **ngu-de**   *huaiqa*   *hai-li*
        this   **1SG-ATTR**   book   EQU-SEN.INF
        'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(141)   **ni-de**   *quandi*   *xaige*   *yak-la-li*
        2SG-ATTR   clothes   very   beautiful-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
        'Your clothes are very beautiful.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(142)   **gu-jhege-de**   *quilek*   *ma-ge*   *hai-li*
        3-PAUC-ATTR   religion   what-REF   EQU-SEN.INF
        'What are their religions?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Plural personal pronouns are formed from singular stems by two markers: the paucal marker *-jhege* and the collective plural marker *-mu*. With personal pronouns, unlike nouns, the paucal marker *-jhege* gives a general plural reading and does not differentiate between small and large groups. The plural marker *-dera ~ -duru* is not used with personal pronouns. As already noted in Table 5, personal pronouns have two inflectional categories on their own that distinguish them from nouns. These are the distinction between non-collective and collective plural and the oblique case marking. Beacause of their importance to the inflection of personal pronouns in Wutun, I will discuss these two phenomena in separate sections. Section 3.6.1.1 discusses the differences between collective and non-collective personal pronouns and Section 3.6.1.2 deals with oblique case marking in personal pronouns.

3.6.1.1 Collective personal pronouns

Wutun distinguishes between non-collective plural and collective plural in the inflection of
personal pronouns. The paucal marker *-jhege* gives the sentence a non-collective reading:

(143) ***ngu-jhege***   *hai*   *lai-de*   *kuli*   *zhai-lio*
     1-PAUC   even   come-ATTR   time   pick-PFV
     'And we (each of us individually) even picked (ears of the wheat from the field)
     while coming back (from the school)...' (Conversation 1_School)

(144) ***gu-jhege***   *zang-li*   *wanlan-di- li*
     3-PAUC   Tibet-LOC   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
     'They (each of them individually) are (still) working in Tibet.'
     (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car9)

In (143) and (144) the non-collective plural personal pronouns *ngu-jhege* 1-PAUC and *gu-jhege* 3-PAUC emphasize that each member of the group is doing something individually, and the focus is not on the group as a whole.

Collective plural personal pronouns, on the other hand, refer to 'person and his/her associates.' They are used to indicate intimately connected, collective groups of people, most typically village or family. The speakers of Wutun also refer to their own language with the term *nga-n-de hua* 1-COLL-ATTR speech, 'our speech'. When followed by the attributive marker *-de* indicating genitive attributes, the suffix *-mu* is changed to *-n-* and the vowel alternation *u*: *a* takes place in the first person pronominal stem, resulting in the variant *nga* before the collective marker. The examples (145) and (146) illustrate the use of the first person collective plural pronoun:

(145) ***nga-mu***   *gu*   *qhichai*   *mai-she-ma-li*
     1SG-COLL   that   car   buy-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
     'We (our whole family) bought that car.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(146) ***nga-n-de***   *je-ge*   *ddaiba-de*   *qhi-de*
     1SG-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   village-ATTR   go-ATTR

     hua-de   *mende-ge-li*
     draw-NMLZ   like that-REF-SEN.INF
     'This painting (of the thangkas) is the custom of our (whole) village.' (The
     Wutun Village)

In (145) and (146) the collective plural personal pronoun *nga-mu* 1-COLL expresses that the group as a whole is doing something, and does not emphasize the actions of the individuals that belong to the group.

The collective-non-collective distinction is most common with first person, but it also occurs frequently with third person (the second person collective forms are rare in my data):

(147) **gu-n-de**   *aba*   *yi*   *tian*
       3-COLL-ATTR   father   one   day

       yi   *poqia*   *ra*   *be-gek-li*
       one   packet   even   NEG-(be) enough-SEN.INF
       'For his father (the father of his family), even one packet (of cigarettes) per day is not enough.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(148) *ngu*   **gu-n-de**   *awu-ha*   *huaiqa-ge*
       1SG   **3-COLL-ATTR**   boy-OD   book-REF

       ka-gu-lio
       give-COMPL-PFV
       'I gave a book to their boy (the boy of their family).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

When talking about two persons, it is common to use the collective numeral *liang-ge*, 'two together' after the personal pronoun. Consider:

(149) *ngu*   **liang-ge**   *shai-li*   *lio*   *ze-li*
       1SG   **two-REF**   home-LOC   complete   EXEC-SEN.INF
       '… and we two returned home.' (Bike)

(150) *ni*   **liang-ge**   *yenze*   *a-mende-ge*
       2SG   **two-REF**   money   INTERR-like that-REF

       yek-li
       EXIST-SEN.INF
       'How much money do you two get (after selling your thangkas)?'
       (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The numeral *liang-ge* can also be added after a plural personal pronoun as in (151), in which it is used with collective plural. This suggests that it should be interpreted as a collective numeral rather than a dual number marker:

(151)   nga-mu   **liang-ge-de**   tangga
         1-COLL   **two-REF-ATTR**   thangka

         jhi-ge   yai   wanlan-lio   ze-li
         how many-REF   month   do-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
         'For how many months have our thangkas been made?'
         (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Neither Mandarin Chinese nor Amdo Tibetan makes collective/non-collective distinction in their plural personal pronouns, but collective/non-collective distinction is present in Bonan pronominal system (Fried 2010: 118) and the emergence of collective personal pronouns in Wutun may be due to language contact with Bonan.

3.6.1.2 Oblique case

Wutun first and second person singular pronouns and the reflexive pronoun (see Section 3.6.4) follow a nominative-accusative type of case marking pattern and they are obligatorily inflected for oblique case. The oblique case of the personal pronouns is marked by the element -a yielding the forms 1SG-OBL nga and 2SG-OBL nia. Wutun oblique case is multifunctional, covering the typical functions of accusative and dative. It is used when the first and second person singular pronouns occur in other roles than Agent. This is understandable, because first and second person pronouns rank highest in animacy hierarchy and are therefore the most prototypical Agents, and their use in a semantic role other than intentional Agent is a more marked scenario. From a more restricted areal perspective, oblique case is also an areal feature; in some dialects of Bonan the singular personal pronouns have a similar, multifunctional oblique case (Wu 2003: 336). The typical roles of oblique case are Patient (as in 152) and Recipient (as in 153):

(152)   ni   **nga**   da-lio
         2SG   **1SG.OBL**   hit-PFV
         'You have beaten me.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(153)   je   huaiqa   ngu   **nia**-ha   ka-yek
         this   book   1SG   **2SG**-OD   give-EGO
         'As for this book, I give it to you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The oblique case is also used with Experiencers. As in other languages, in Wutun Experiencers are associated with verbs indicating cognitive processes, bodily processes and emotions. These verbs denote action that is non-volitional and does not allow speaker's control:

(154) ***nia**-ha*   *ke-di-li=a*
       2SG.OBL-OD thirsty-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'Are you thirsty?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(155) ***nga***   *tin-li*
       1SG.OBL   sick-SEN.INF
       'I am sick.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The oblique forms are also used with Possessors:

(156) ***nga***   *yoshe*   *yek*
       1SG.OBL   keys   EXIST
       'I have the keys.' (Cairangji)

The oblique forms can be used in vocatives to address another person:

(157) ***nia***   *ni*   *bai-qhi*   *sho-ma*
       2SG.OBL   2SG   PROH-go   QUOT-RES
       'You, you should not go, (he) said (and)…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Nouns and third person pronouns receive no case marking even if they occur in a semantic role other than Agent (see Section 8.2.2). They are mainly distinguished from the Agent by word order.

3.6.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Wutun has two series of demonstrative pronouns, proximal and distal. Proximal demonstrative pronouns denote entities close to the speaker, and distal demonstrative pronouns denote entities distant from the speaker. The proximal demonstrative pronouns are

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formed from the stem *je-*, 'this', while distal demonstrative pronouns can be formed from two stems, *gu-* and *wu-*, 'that'. Both of the demonstrative stems *je-* and *gu-* are of Sinitic origin. The proximal stem *je-* is a cognate with the Standard Mandarin proximal demonstrative (*zhè* 这), while the distal stem *gu-* is a local Northwest Mandarin item and identical with Wutun third person singular pronoun. Wutun demonstrative pronouns are summarized by Table 6.

Table 6. *Demonstrative pronouns*

	PROX	DIST
NOM	*je, je-ge*	*gu, gu~gu, gu-ge*
PAUC	*je-jhege*	*gu-jhege*
PL	*je-dera*	*gu-dera, gu-duru*
LOC	*je-li*	*wu-li*
ABL	*je-la*	*gu-la, wu-la*

Demonstrative pronouns can be used alone as noun phrases. They also frequently occur as modifiers of head nouns in noun phrases. Examples (158)-(160) illustrate the use of demonstrative pronouns as noun phrases:

(158)   ***je-ge***   *wanlan-ma*   *lio-gu-ra*
              this-REF   do-COORD   get finished-COMPL-COND

              ni   *liang-ge*   *yenze*   *a-mende-ge*
              2SG   two-REF   money   INTERR-like that-REF

              yek-li
              EXIST-SEN.INF
              'When you finish this (thangka), how much money do you two get?'
              (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(159)   ***je***   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-yek*
              this   1SG-ATTR   book   EQU-EGO
              'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(160)   ***gu***   *da*   *diang*   *la-tang*
              that   then   true   maybe
              'That may be true.' (Cairangji)

The basic demonstratives *je* and *gu* are often combined with the referential marker *-ge* yielding the forms *je-ge* and *gu-ge* (as in 161 and 162). However, the use of *-ge* with demonstrative pronouns is optional (see 163 and 164), and there are no obvious functional differences between the two forms:

(161) *oya*   *da*   *jidang-de*   *nga-n-de*
       INTJ   then   in general-ATTR   1-COLL-ATTR

       je-ge   *sanggaixong sho-de*   ***je-ge***
       this-REF   Wutun   say-NMLZ   **this-REF**
       'Well, generally speaking, to say something about this village of ours called
       Wutun…' (The Wutun Village)

(162) ***gu-ge***   *joze*   *age-de*   *yek*
       that-REF   table   who-ATTR   EXIST
       'Whose is that table?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(163) ***je***   *nguiwo*   *xaige*   *gui-li*
       this   thing   very   expensive-SEN.INF
       'This thing is very expensive.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(164) *ngu*   ***gu***   *xawa*   *wan-di-yek*
       1SG   **that**   work   do-PROGR-EGO
       'I am working on that task.' (Cairangji)

The distal demonstrative *gu* also has a reduplicated variant *gu*. In my data, the distal demonstrative *gu~gu* does not appear in combination with the referential marker *-ge*, and it is used only as a modifier of the head noun:

(165) *gek*   *san-ge*   *yek-de*   ***gu~gu***   *ren*
       dog   three-REF   EXIST-ATTR   **that~that**   person

       ra   *jhan-ma-li*
       also   see-RES.PO-SEN.INF
       'I have also seen that person with three dogs.' (Cairangji)

When referring to plural entities that occur as heads of the noun phrases, demonstrative pronouns *je* and *gu* are combined with the paucal marker *-jhege* or the plural marker *-dera ~ -duru*, yielding the paucal forms *je-jhege* and *gu-jhege* and plural forms *je-dera ~ je-duru* and *gu-dera ~ gu-duru*, respectively. When used with nouns, paucal in Wutun typically indicates

small amounts or generic, unlimited group, while the plural indicates large amounts or specific, limited group. However, with demonstratives the choice between the paucal and plural in Wutun has more to do with animacy. Paucal forms are only used with +HUMAN nouns, while plural forms can also be used with –HUMAN nouns as in (166) and (167). The demonstrative *gu-dera* ~ *gu-duru* can also be used in the meaning 'other, others':

(166) *pikang*   *da*   ***gu-duru***   *da-ma-da*
        tent   and   **that-PL**   pitch-RES.PO-CONSEQ

        xaige   *sama*   *da*   ***gu-duru***
        very   food   and   **that-PL**

        xang~xang-de   *wanlan-ma-da*
        delicious~delicious-NMLZ   make-RES.PO-CONSEQ
        '(The people) pitch tents and the like and cook very delicious food…' (Village Festivals)

(167) *qhichai*   *da*   ***gu-dera***   *she*   *kuai-di*
        car   and   **that-PL**   on   fast-PROGR

        la-mun-na
        instead
        '(People) go (there) quickly by cars and other (vehicles) instead.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

This is in line with the fact that Wutun plural personal pronouns can only be formed by the paucal marker *-jhege* but not the plural marker *-dera* ~ *-duru* and the third person plural pronoun *gu-jhege* is identical with the distal demonstrative plural pronoun. The meaning 'other' can also be expressed by the Tibetan word *xxanba* (WT *gzhan.pa*):

(168) *je-da*   *jjhakai*   ***xxanba**-de*   *lhakang*   *do-li*
        PROX-ADV   country   **other**-ATTR   temple   many-SEN.INF
        'There are many foreign churches here.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

When used as modifiers for plural head nouns, demonstrative pronouns *je* and *gu* do not take plural marking. In (169) and (170) the demonstratives *je* and *gu* are used without plural marker to modify plural head nouns. Only the head nouns are marked for a plural:

(169)   **je**   *nguiwo-dera ngu*   *ngu-de*   *pa-dera*
        this   thing-PL   1SG   1SG-ATTR   friend-PL

        ka-gu-lio
        give-COMPL-PFV
        'I gave these goods to my friends.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(170)   *gu*   *dondak*   **gu**   *ren-dera*   *sho-gu-lio*
        that   matter   **that**   person-PL   speak-COMPL-PFV

        ze-li
        EXEC-SEN.INF
        'That matter was revealed by those people.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The proximal and distal demonstrative stems can also be combined with the locative case marker *-li* and the ablative case marker *-la~ -ra*, yielding the locative and ablative forms. The proximal locative demonstrative is *je-li*, 'here, hither' while in the distal series the regular distal demonstrative stem *gu-* is replaced with *wu-*, yielding the form *wu-li*, 'there, thither'. Consider:

(171)   *mende-ge-de*   *hai-de*   *kuli*   *da*
        like that-REF-ATTR   EQU-ATTR   when   then

        dangma   *nga-n-de*   **wu-li-de**   *adia*
        long ago   1SG-COLL-ATTR   **DIST-LOC-ATTR**   monk

        hai-de   *re*   *sho-li*
        EQU-NMLZ   FACT   REP-SEN.INF
        'In those days, our monks were under such circumstances, they say.'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The locative function can also be expressed by spatial adverbs based on the demonstrative stems (see Section 5.2.1).

In ablative series, the proximal demonstrative is *je-la~je-ra*, 'from here', while the distal demonstrative can be formed from both of the distal stems, yielding the forms *gu-la~gu-ra* and *wu-la~wu-ra,* 'from there'. Consider:

(172)   A: *a-ra*   *zhai-lio*
                    where-ABL   pick-PFV
                    'From where did you pick up (the wheat)?'

B: *xaitang-de* **wu-ra**
school-ATTR **DIST-ABL**
'(We picked it up) there near the school.

                xaitang-de **wu-ra**   *ayi-ge*   *yek-li=mu*
school-ATTR **DIST-ABL**   woman-REF EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
Did you know that there was a woman near the school?'
(Conversation 1_School)

3.6.3 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

Interrogative and indefinite pronouns are expressed by the same elements in Wutun and it depends on the discourse context whether the pronoun is interpreted as interrogative or indefinite. Therefore, I will discuss interrogative and indefinite pronouns in the same section. Interrogative pronouns are used as substitutes for noun phrases in questions. Wutun has two types of interrogative pronouns: interrogative pronouns based on interrogative stems and interrogative pronouns based on quantifiers. Wutun has two interrogative stems, *a-* and *ma-* that are used to form interrogative pronouns. Both of the interrogative stems are local Northwest Mandarin items. The quantifiers *jhi*, 'some, a few' and *do*, 'many, several' are also used to form interrogative pronouns. Wutun interrogative pronouns are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. *Interrogative pronouns*

Interrogatives based on interrogative stems:	
ma, ma-ge	what, which
a-ge	who, which
a-ge-de	whose
a-li	where
a-ra, ma-ra	from where
ma-shema, ma-rai	why
a-menzai	how
a-mende-ge	what kind of
Interrogatives based on quantifiers:	
jhi, jhi-ge	how many
do	how many
do-xige	when

The interrogative stem *ma* can be used as an interrogative both independently and in combination with the referential marker *-ge*. The forms *ma*, 'what' and *ma-ge*, 'what, which' always refer to –HUMAN nouns:

(173) *rongbo-li*   **ma**   *ze-qhi-zhe*
       Longwu-LOC   **what**   do-go-PROSP
       'What are you going to do in Longwu?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(174) *loshe*   **ma-ge**   *sho-li*
       teacher   **what-REF**   say-SEN.INF
       'What did the teacher say?' (Conversation 1_School)

Interrogative *ma-shema*, 'why' is possibly related to the Standard Mandarin question word *shénme* (什么). The interrogative pronoun 'why' also has a variant *ma-rai*, which seems to be synonymous to *ma-shema*:

(175) *ni*   **mashema**   *kuu-lio-zhe*
       2SG   **why**   cry-PFV-PROSP
       'Why did you start crying?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(176) *adia*   **marai**   *nga*   *ek-gu-ma*   *qhi-de*
       monk   **why**   1SG.OBL   throw-COMPL-COORD   go-NMLZ
       'Monk, why did you leave me…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

However, in my data *ma-shema* seems to be more common, and the variant *ma-rai* only appeared in the context of a folktale narrative.

Differently from *ma-*, the stem *a-* cannot be used alone. The form *a-ge*, 'who' with a classifier usually refers to +HUMAN nouns and functions as an interrogative counterpart of the personal pronouns. Like personal pronouns, the interrogative pronoun *a-ge* does not have a specific possessive form. Possession is indicated by the attributive marker *-de*. Consider:

(177)   *gu*   *dianyin*   **a-ge**   *wanlan-lio-de*   *re*
        3SG   movie   **who**   do-PFV-NMLZ   FACT
        'Who made this film? (Cairangji)

(178)   *gu-ge*   *joze*   **age-de**   *yek*
        that-REF   table   **who-ATTR**   EXIST
        'Whose is that table?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In the data the interrogative pronoun *a-ge* was occasionally used to refer –HUMAN nouns. When referring to –HUMAN nouns, it means 'which one'. Consider:

(179)   *lu*   **a-ge**   *she-la*   *qhi-de*   *zhong-li*
        road   which   on-ABL   go-MAN.EXT   (be) right-SEN.INF
        …which road is right (for you) to go. (Bike)

The stem *a-* is also used to form locative and ablative forms *a-li*, 'where' (as in 180) and *a-la ~ a-ra*, 'from where' (as in 181):

(180)   *da*   **a-li**   *yek-li*
        now   **where**   EXIST-SEN.INF
        'Where are they now?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(181)   **a-ra**   *zhai-lio*
        where-ABL pick-PFV
        'From where did you pick up (the ears of the wheat)? (Conversation 1_School)

Other interrogative pronouns based on the stem *a-* are *a-menzai*, 'how' (as in 182) and *a-mende-ge*, 'what kind of' (as in 183):

(182)　　gu　　　　***a-menzai***　　*wanlan-de*　*yo-de*　　*re*
　　　　　　that　　**how**　　　do-NMLZ　　NEC-NMLZ　FACT
　　　　　　'How do you make that thing (a pearl thangka)?'(Conversation 2_Thangkas,
　　　　　　Smoking and Car)

(183)　　*je*　　　*jjhakai*　　***a-mende-ge-li***
　　　　　　this　　　country　　**INTERR-like that-REF**-SEN.INF
　　　　　　'How is this country like?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

　　　　Except being used as an interrogative, the pronoun *a-menzai* also has other functions. In
(184) it has the meaning 'a way how to':

(184)　　*ni*　　　　*bimian*　　*kan*　　　*ngu*　　　*nia*　　　***a-menzai***
　　　　　　2SG　　　　behind　　look　　　1SG　　　2SG.OBL　**how**

　　　　　　din-di-li　　　　　　　*gu*　　　*ngu*　　　*nia*　　　*jho*
　　　　　　stop-PROGR-SEN.INF　　that　　　1SG　　　2SG.OBL　teach
　　　　　　'Stay behind and watch me. I will teach you the way how to stop the bike.'
　　　　　　(Bike)

　　　　Interrogative pronouns *a-menzai* and *a-mende-ge* are formed by incorporating nouns
menzai, 'way how to, like that' and *mende-ge*, 'like that' with the interrogative stem *a-*.
Examples (185) and (186) illustrate the nouns *menzai* and *mende-ge*:

(185)　　***menzai***　　*ze-ra=mu*
　　　　　　like that　　do-COND=INTERR

　　　　　　da　　　*xhoqo*　　　*hai-li=wo*
　　　　　　then　　advantage　　EQU-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　　　'So, they did like that? Are there any advantages in doing that (sharing the new
　　　　　　car)?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(186)　　*san-ge*　　*yai-ma*　　*she-wu*　　*tian*　　　*xhen-la-da*
　　　　　　three-REF　month-and　fifteen　　day　　　　go-COND-CONSEQ

　　　　　　zang-li　　*do-di*　　　***mende-ge***　　　　　*hai-li*
　　　　　　Tibet-LOC　arrive-PROGR　**like that-REF**　　　EQU-SEN.INF
　　　　　　'Only if you walked three months and fifteen days would you arrive in Tibet,
　　　　　　this is how it was.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

　　　　Finally, Wutun has interrogative words that are not based on the regular interrogative
stems. Some quantifiers in Wutun can also be used as interrogatives. These include the
nominal quantifier *jhi*(-*ge*) (SM *jǐ-ge* 几个), 'a few, how many' and the verbal quantifier *do*

(SM *duō* 多), 'many, a lot of, how much'. The question word *doxige*, 'when' in Wutun is an adverbial form of the quantifier *do*, 'a lot of, how much':

(187)   *ni*   **doxige**   *lai-lio*
          2SG   **when**   come-PFV
          'When did you come?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Interrogative pronouns are also used as indefinite pronouns in Wutun. Commonly used indefinite terms are *ma-ge*, 'something, anything', *a-ge*, 'somebody, anybody', *a-li*, 'somewhere, anywhere' and *a-ra*, 'from somewhere, from anywhere'.

    The indefinite pronoun *a-ge*, 'somebody, anybody', is used with +HUMAN nouns, while the pronoun *ma-ge*, 'something, anything', is used with −HUMAN nouns:

(188)   **a-ge**   *ren*   *da*   *gu*   *lai-ma*
          somebody person   then   that   come-COORD

          en   *bbaiqai*   *dang-la-de*   *ren*
          HES   noisy   act-INCOMPL-ATTR   person

          mi-li
          EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
          'There are no noisy people coming here.' (Picnic)

(189)   *zhawa*   **ma-ge**   *tin-qhe-lio-de*   *re*
          disciple   **something-REF**   get ill-start-PFV-NMLZ   FACT
          'The disciple began feeling somehow ill.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

    The indefinite pronouns *a-li*, 'somewhere, anywhere' and *a-la ~ a-ra*, 'from somewhere, from anywhere' are used to indicate locations:

(190)   *da*   *molon*   *shai*   *da*   *gu-duru*   *shai*
          then   Molon   time   and   other-PL   time

          a-li   *hai-ra*   *jja-la-ma-da*
          anywhere EQU-COND   visit-INCOMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ
          'Then, during Molon and other rituals, (the people) pay visits everywhere in the village…' (Village Festivals)

(191)   *je-de*   ***a-la***   *lai-lio*   *mende-ge*
            this-ATTR   **somewhere-ABL**   come-PFV   like that-REF

            bai-li
            EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
            'As for its (the thangka tradition's) origin, it has not come from somewhere
            (outside Wutun).' (The Wutun Village)

Finally, the indefinite pronoun *ma-ge*, 'something, anything' has a negative counterpart *mabai*, 'nothing'. Consider:

(192)   *adia*   *ra*   *sho*   *mi-ha-ma*
            monk   but   say   NEG-brave-COORD

            en   *en*   *gu*   *gu*   *xan*
            HES   HES   that   that   cord

            mabai   *yek*   ***mabai***   *yek*
            nothing   EXIST   **nothing**   EXIST
            'But the monk did not have the courage (to tell the zombie the truth) and he
            said: 'Eh, eh, that, that cord, it's nothing, it's nothing.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The pronoun *mabai* is the only true negative indefinite pronoun in Wutun; in most cases functions of negative indefinite pronouns are expressed periphrastically by negative existential constructions (see Section 9.2.2.2).

3.6.4 Reflexive/reciprocal pronoun *gejhai~jhai*

Wutun has a reflexive pronoun *gejhai*, 'oneself'. Sometimes the variant *jhai* is also used. The reflexive pronoun is possibly a compound of Mandarin Chinese general classifier *ge* (个) and the noun *jiā* (家) 'house, family.' Wutun reflexive pronoun can express both reflexive and reciprocal meanings, which is very common in world's languages (Maslova and Nedjalkov 2013). Both formally and functionally similar pronoun is present in Bonan (Fried 2010: 123).

In a prototypical reflexive situation, the Agent acts on himself or herself, while in a prototypical reciprocal situation two participants equally act on each other. Examples (193) and (194) illustrate the reflexive function of *gejhai ~ jhai*, while (195) illustrates the reciprocal function:

(193) *ane*   **gejhai**   *xhui-li*   *sa-she-ma*
       INTJ   **self**   water-LOC   run-RES.AO-COORD

       gejhai-na   *zaibala*   *xhui-li*   *wu-she-lio*
       self-OBL   almost   water-LOC   drown-RES.AO-PFV
       'Oh, he rode (the bike) into water and almost drowned himself!'
       (Bike)

(194) **gejhai-na**   *xen*   *hai-ge*   *yo-di-li*
       self-OBL   new   shoe-REF   want-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'S/he wants to have a new pair of shoes for himself/herself. (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(195) *nga-mu*   *liang-ge*   **jhai**   *dajha-li=a*
       1-COLL   two-REF   **self**   fight-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'Let's fight with each other!' (Conversation 1_School)

When used as a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun, *gejhai ~ jhai* decreases the number of participants in the situation by specifying that the Agent and the Patient are the same entity. In (126) the meaning of the pronoun *jhai*, 'self' is potentially ambiguous, and it could be interpreted as either reflexive or reciprocal. However, since the verb *dajha*, 'to fight', calls for reciprocal interpretation the possible ambiguity is resolved by the lexical context and the pronoun *jhai* is interpreted as a reciprocal meaning 'each other'. In addition to the reflexive reciprocal, Wutun also has a non-reflexive reciprocal marker based on the reduplicated numeral *yi-ge*, 'one' (see Section 8.2.5.2).

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that reflexivity and reciprocity are intimately connected, and reciprocal constructions often arise from reflexives. One possible functional explanation proposed for this is the reanalysis of multiple-participant reflexives (e.g. They feel proud of **themselves**) as reciprocal markers, since reflexives referring to a whole set of participants have inherently reciprocal meaning (Maslova 2008: 240). This explanation could apply to Wutun, whose reflexive pronoun is most probably based on an inherently collective noun *jiā* (家), 'family'.

In addition to its reflexive and reciprocal function, *gejhai ~ jhai* has several other functions that do not affect the number of participants in the clause. It is often used as an emphatic pronoun to contrast the Agent with other participants of the denoted event, as in (196) and (197). The Agent of the sentence can be omitted if it is clear from the previous mention, as in (196):

(196)   *ban-lu*   *she*   *zhawa*   *se-gu-lio*
         half-way   on   disciple   die-COMPL-PFV

         se-gu-lio   *jera*
         die-COMPL-PFV   after

         ngu   *gu-de*   *ssanxhan*   *yidaze*
         1SG   3SG-ATTR   monk's clothes   all

         to-gu   *ze-she-ma*   *lai-gu-ra*
         take off-COMPL   do-RES.AO-COORD   come-COMPL-COND

         gejhai   *rolang*   *mende-ge*   *qhe-lai-gu-lio*
         self   zombie   like that-REF   rise-come-COMPL.PFV
         'On half way to Tibet, my disciple died. After he had died, I took all of his
         clothes off. When I had done this (the disciple) *himself* rose up as a zombie.'
         (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(197)   *ni*   **jhai**   *sho*
         2SG   **self**   speak
         'You speak *yourself*!' (Conversation 1_School)

The reflexive pronoun *gejhai* can be used appositively to emphasize that its referent acted independently:

(198)   *ssanxhan*   *yidaze*   *to-gu-ge-ma*
         monk's clothes   all   take off-COMPL-CAUS-COORD

         gejhai   *tai-she-ma*   *bi-she-ma*
         self   fold-RES.AO-COORD   carry-RES.AO-COORD
         '… (the monk) took off all the (disciple's) clothes, folded them *himself* and put
         them on his back.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The reflexive pronoun *gejhai* can also be used when the Agent acts non-volitionally. In these cases, *gejhai* expresses action directed towards oneself, and its meaning is close to Patient or Recipient. When the reflexive pronoun is used in a semantic role other than intentional Agent, it takes an oblique case marker *-na*. The oblique form of the reflexive pronoun, *gejhai-na*, thus corresponds the oblique forms of the first and second person singular pronouns, *nga* and *nia* (see Section 3.6.1.2). In (193), repeated here as (199), the oblique form of the reflexive pronoun expresses the Patient and marks the denoted event as non-volitional (see the second line):

(199) *ane*   ***gejhai***   *xhui-li*   *sa-she-ma*
       INTJ   **self**   water-LOC   run-RES.AO-COORD

       gejhai-na   *zaibala*   *xhui-li*   *wu-she-lio*
       self-OBL   almost   water-LOC   drown-RES.AO-PFV
       'Oh, he rode (the bike) into water and almost drowned himself!'
       (Bike)

The choice between the unmarked nominative case and the marked oblique case seems to depend on the semantics of the verb. Different case forms of the reflexive pronoun are used with verbs that would potentially allow speaker's control, but express non-volitional events, and with verbs denoting inherently non-volitional events that are completely beyond speaker's control. With potentially controllable verb *sa*, 'to rush, to run' in the first line of (199), the nominative is used even if the action leads to undesired outcome (running into water). However, with inherently non-volitional, non-control verb *wo*, 'to drown' in the second line of the example (199), the oblique case is used.

Like personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun has no genuine possessive form. Possessive form can be composed by adding the attributive marker *-de* that marks nominalizations and attributive phrases (see Sections 3.8. and 4.11). The attributive phrase with reflexive pronoun functions as a modifier of the head noun and means 'one's own':

(200) *gu*   ***gejhai-de***   *she*   *mai-gu-lio*
       3SG   **self-ATTR**   house   sell-COMPL-PFV

       ze-li
       EXEC-SEN.INF
       'He sold his (own) house.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The reflexive pronoun can refer to plural entities and take plural marking. In (201), the reflexive pronoun refers to intimately connected group and takes collective plural marking:

(201) *gu*   *yektek-ma*   *ra*   *qaibai-de*
       3SG   inside-COORD   also   (be) different-NMLZ

       ji-la-ma   ***gejhai-mu-de***
       divide-INCOMPL-COORD   **self-COLL-ATTR**

       nga-n-de   *hua*   *ngoma*
       1-COLL-ATTR   speech   base

       xhong-la-ma-de   *ra*
       find-INCOMPL-RES.PO-NMLZ   also

> *zai-ma-zai* *do-li*
> so-and-so   many-SEN.INF
> 'Many changes took place in (the language our ancestors spoke), forming the base for our own unique Wutun language, there were many (changes) like that.'
> (The Wutun Village)

The reflexive pronoun can also be reduplicated. Reduplicated reflexive pronoun gives the sentence a distributive, non-collective reading and is used to emphasize Agents of the denoted event. In (202), the reflexive pronoun is partially reduplicated and means 'each and every':

> (202) *da*   *xaitangwa-jhege*   *hai-la*   *ra*   *da*
>   then   pupil-PAUC   EQU-COND   also   then
>
>   *zowo*   ***gejhai~jhai-de***   *sa~sa-li*
>   main thing **self~self-ATTR**   place~place-LOC
>
>   *zowo*   *jjhang-la-di-de-ge*
>   main thing study-INCOMPL-PROGR-NMLZ-REF
>
>   *suan*   *yegai*   *jjhang-la-di-li*
>   Tibetan   language   study-INCOMPL-PROGR-SEN.INF
>   'As regards for schoolchildren, the main thing each of them is studying in their own places, they study in the Tibetan language.' (The Wutun Village)

We have seen that *gejhai ~ jhai* functions both as a reflexive pronoun and as a reciprocal pronoun. In addition to its reflexive and reciprocal functions, it also has several other functions that do not affect the number of participants in the clause. It often functions as an emphatic pronoun to contrast a participant with other participants in the clause or to emphasize that its referent acted independently.

3.7 Numerals, classifiers and nominal quantifiers

Most of the Wutun numerals are cognates with numerals in other varieties of Mandarin Chinese, but there are also a few numerals borrowed from Amdo Tibetan. The classifier system in Wutun is highly simplified compared to other Sinitic languages, but some lexical nouns denoting containers can be used as classifiers with mass nouns, and there is a classifier for the noun 'human'. There is a small set of nominal quantifiers that denote non-specific

quantities. Numerals and classifier are discussed in Section 3.7.1 and nominal quantifiers in Section 3.7.2.

3.7.1 Numerals and classifiers

Wutun basic cardinal numerals are all of a Sinitic origin. Wutun has two series of basic digits: non-referential and referential. Non-referential numerals are used for counting, while referential numerals marked with the referential marker *-ge* are used as modifiers of the head noun in a noun phrase. Table 8 shows the Wutun cardinal numbers for basic digits.

Table 8. *Basic cardinal numerals*

		REF
1	*yi/yi-zek*	*yi-ge*
2	*ek*	*liang-ge*
3	*san*	*san-ge*
4	*se*	*se-ge*
5	*wu*	*wu-ge*
6	*lek*	*lek-ge*
7	*ci*	*ci-ge*
8	*ba*	*ba-ge*
9	*jhek*	*jhek-ge*
10	*she*	*she-ge*

The numeral *yi-ge*, 'one' based on the Chinese numeral *yí-ge* (一个) has an extended variant *yi-zek*, which is probably a combination of the Chinese numeral *yī* and the Tibetan numeral *zek* (WT *gzig*):

(203) *ngu*   *yi-tian jhangga*   *dico*   **yi-zek**
       1SG   every day   hour   **one**

       luyinji   *tin-di-yek*
       tape recorder   listen-PROGR-EGO
       'I listen to the tape recorder one hour every day.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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Like Mandarin Chinese, Wutun also has two variants of the numeral two. The variant *ek* is used for counting and in combination with other numerals to create multiple decades, higher powers of ten and ordinal numerals. It cannot be combined with *-ge* and is not used as a modifier, while the numeral *liang-ge* is always combined with *-ge* and is used as a modifier of the head noun. Like in several other varieties of Northwest Mandarin, in Wutun the numeral *liang-ge* is used both as a simple numeral meaning 'two' (as in 204) and as a compound numeral meaning 'two together' (as in 205):

(204) **liang-ge** yai hai-yek ba
   two-REF month EQU-EGO PROB
   '(I guess our thangkas were made over a period of) two months.'
   (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(205) da ha da ma **liang-ge**
   then father and mother **two-REF**

   du-de gaiqa sho-ma qhe-li
   alone-ATTR language say-COORD start-SEN.INF
   'Then the father and the mother came to speak their own languages (to the children)…' (The Wutun Village)

The grammaticalization of the numeral *liang-ge* into a sociative case marker is based on the semantic extension of its use as a compound numeral (see Section 3.3.4).

The multiple decades are expressed by Sinitic elements. The numerals are added for ten, '*she*' (SM *shí* 十), yielding the basic digits. Multiple decades are listed in Table 9.

Table 9. *Multiple decades*

20	*ek-she*
30	*san-she*
40	*se-she*
50	*wu-she*
60	*lek-she*
70	*ci-she*
80	*ba-she*
90	*jhek-she*

The intermediate numerals are formed by combining the tens with the digits, e.g. *she-san*, 'thirteen', *she-wu*, 'fifteen'. The higher powers of ten are expressed by combining the Sinitic and Tibetan elements. The numeral 'hundred' is a Mandarin-based item *bai* (SM *băi* 百), which is used in combination with a preceding digit, e.g. *ek-bai*, 'two hundred'. The words for 'thousand' and 'ten thousand' both come from Tibetan. The word 'thousand' has two alternative forms *dong* (WT *stong*) and *dong-co* (WT *stong.tsho*). The word for 'ten thousand' is *che* (WT *khri*). When combined with modifying digits, the numerals 'thousand' and 'ten thousand' remain morphosyntactically independent nouns and the modifying digits are placed after them, e.g. *dong wu-ge*, 5,000, *che liang-ge*, 20,000. When a numeral is combined with a quantifier, the coordinative suffix *ma* is used in between (as in 206):

(206) *wu-bai*　　　　　*ka-gu-ra*　　　　　*ra*
　　　　five hundred　　　give-COMPL-COND　if,

　　　　han　　*dong*　　　*se-ge-**ma***　　　*zaige*
　　　　still　　thousand　　four-REF-**COORD**　a little

　　　　yek-li=mu
　　　　EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　'Even if you give five hundred (as a payment for gold used in thangkas), there is still a little more than four thousand (yuan) left, isn't there?
　　　　(Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

When expressing the numeral 'one thousand', the numeral thousand is not used alone, but in combination with a numeral 'one' as in (207). When the higher powers of ten are combined with the numeral 'thousand', the coordinative *ma* is used in between, e.g. *dong yi-zek-ma ek-bai*, 'one thousand and two hundred':

(207)　A:　　*ren-ge-ha*　　　　　　*dong*　　　*yi-zek-**ma***
　　　　　　　person-REF-OD　　　　thousand　one-**COORD**

　　　　　　ek-bai
　　　　　　two hundred
　　　　　　'Each person (gets) one thousand and two hundred (as a payment for thangka).'

　　　　B:　　*ou*　　*bai-li*
　　　　　　　INTJ　　EQU.NEG-SEN.INF

　　　　　　dong　　　*yi-zek-**ma***　*yi-bai*　　*san-shi*
　　　　　　thousand　one-**COORD**　one hundred　thirty
　　　　　　'Oh, that's not true.' (Each person gets) one thousand and hundred and thirty.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Numerals in Wutun almost always follow the noun they modify like in Amdo Tibetan. However, when numerals are used together with Sinitic nouns denoting time (such as *tian*, 'day', *yai*, 'month' and *nian*, 'year'), they precede the noun like in Mandarin Chinese. Consider:

(208) A: *liang-ge*   *yai-ma*   *she-san*   *tian*
           two-REF   month-COORD   thirteen   day
           '(Our thangkas have been made for) two months and thirteen days.'

       B: *bai-li*   *liang-ge*   *yai-ma*
           NEG.EQU-SEN.INF   two-REF   month-COORD

           san   *tian*
           three   day
           'No, that's not true; it's two months and three days.'
           (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Both Sinitic and Tibetan elements can express ordinal numerals. The Sinitic ordinal numerals are formed by adding the Mandarin ordinal prefix *dì* (第) before the cardinal numerals, e.g. *di-yi*, 'the first', *di-ek*, 'the second'. Alternatively, the Amdo Tibetan ordinal numerals can be used, incorporating the optional prefix (*ang-*), 'number' and the suffixes *-wo* ~ *-wa* ~ *-ba*. Ordinal numerals are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. *Ordinal numerals*

First	*(ang-)dang-wo*
Second	*(ang-)ni-wa*
Third	*(ang-)sen-ba*
Fourth	*(ang-)xxe-wa*
Fifth	*(ang-)nga-wa*
Sixth	*(ang-)zhek-ba*
Seventh	*(ang-)dden-ba*
Eighth	*(ang-)jjhai-ba*
Ninth	*(ang-)gge-wa*
Tenth	*(ang-)je-wa*

Like cardinal numerals, ordinal numbers follow the noun they modify. Consider:

(209) *canba*　　　***dangwo*=*mu***
　　　lesson　　　**first**=INTERR
　　　'Was that lesson number one?' (Bike)

(210) *ni*　　　*ni*　　　*yi-qang*　　*co-da*　　　*ngu*　　　*nia*
　　　2SG　　　2SG　　　one-while　　sit-IMP　　　1SG　　　2SG.OBL

　　　canba　　　***xxewa***　　*mu*　　　*jho-ma*　　　*mi-yek*
　　　lesson　　　**fourth**　　TOP　　　teach-COORD EXIST.NEG-EGO
　　　'You, you wait for a moment, I haven't taught you the lesson number four yet.'
　　　(Bike)

Due to prolonged contact with languages that have no classifiers, Wutun has lost almost all of its numeral classifiers. The marker -*ge* based on the Mandarin Chinese general classifier is used with numerals, demonstratives, nominal quantifiers and indefinite singular nouns, but its use is not determined by the semantics of its noun referent and it only marks the noun phrases as referential, as well as foregrounds them in the discourse (see Section 3.5). However, some lexical nouns can be used like classifiers with time expressions or mass nouns. Example of a classifier-like time expression denoting an instance or an occurrence of an event is *qang* (SM *cháng* 场), 'a while, a moment':

(211) ***yi-qang***　　*co*　　　***yi-qang***　　*co*　　　*ni*　　　***yi-qang***
　　　one-while　sit　　　**one-while**　sit　　　2SG　　　**one-while**

　　　co-da
　　　sit-IMP
　　　'Wait, wait, you wait for a moment!' (Bike)

Lexical nouns whose primary meaning is to express containers, such as *wan*, 'a bowl' and *bi*, 'a cup' can be used as mensural classifiers with mass nouns. See the examples of *wan*, 'a bowl' as a lexical noun (as in 212) and as a classifier (as in 213):

(212) *ngu*　　　***wan***　　*da-pe-lio*
　　　1SG　　　**bowl**　　hit-get broken-PFV
　　　'I broke a bowl.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(213)　　*gu*　　　　　*nga*　　　　*ra*　　　　*tang*　　　***yi-wan***
　　　　　　3SG　　　　1SG.OBL　　also　　　soup　　　**one-bowl**

　　　　　　xhe-ge-lio　　　　　　*ze-li*
　　　　　　drink-CAUS-PFV　　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　　　　'S/he made me to have one bowl of soup.' (Cairangji)

In addition, Wutun has a special classifier for the word 'person'. The word for 'person/s, people' has two variants in Wutun, *ren* (SM *rén* 人) and *rang*. The word *ren* is used as an independent noun, which can take number or case marking, as in (214). It is also used in compounds, as in (215):

(214)　***ren**-dera*　　*xaige*　　　*xho-li*
　　　　person-PL　　　very　　　　good-SEN.INF
　　　　'The people (here) are very good.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(215)　*gu*　　　　*da*　　　　*gejhai-de*　　***niren**-ha*
　　　　3SG　　　now　　　　self-ATTR　　　woman-OD

　　　　gga-la-di　　　　　　*mi-li*
　　　　like-INCOMPL-PROGR　　EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
　　　　'He doesn't like his girlfriend anymore.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The word *rang*, on the other hand, is used as a classifier with numerals or quantifiers for counting the noun *ren*, 'person':

(216)　*nga-n-de*　　*she-li*　　　*ren*　　　*lek-ge*　　***rang***　　*yek*
　　　　1-COLL-ATTR home-LOC　　person　　six-REF　　**person**　　EXIST
　　　　'There are six people in my family.' (Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that human common nouns occupy higher slot in animacy hierarchy than non-human or inanimate common nouns in world's languages (see Silverstein 1976; Croft 2003: 130). This might explain that there is a classifier for the noun 'person' in Wutun, although the classifier system is highly simplified otherwise and the classifiers with a specified semantic meaning have mostly been lost. On the other hand, it is not uncommon to use the noun 'person' for a grammatical function in Sinitic languages. There are several Sinitic languages where, for example, the plural is expressed by suffixing the noun 'person' to a noun (Yue 2003: 86).

The construction *yi-ge rang*, 'one person' has two specific meanings. It can be used like an indefinite pronoun meaning 'somebody' (as in 217). It can also mean 'alone' (as in 218):

(217) *gu-ha* *yi-ge* **rang** *yen-ma*
  3SG-OD one-REF **person** lead-COORD

  qhi-gu-lio *ze-li*
  go-COMPL-PFV EXEC-SEN.INF
  'S/he was led away by somebody.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(218) *ni* *yi-ge* **rang** *lai-lio=mu*
  2SG one-REF **person** come-PFV=INTERR
  'Did you come (to Lhasa) alone?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

3.7.2 Nominal quantifiers

Nominal quantifiers denote non-specific quantities. They can be used either as arguments of the verb or as modifiers of the head noun. When used as modifiers, they can either precede or follow the head noun. Wutun makes use of both Sinitic and Tibetan quantifiers, as illustrated by Table 11.

Table 11. *Nominal quantifiers*

jhi, jhi-ge, yi-jhi-ge	some, a few, several
zaige, zai-zaige, yidia	some, a little
yi-gai-ge, do~do-de	a lot of
yidaze	all

The quantifiers *jhi ~ jhi-ge ~ yi-jhi-ge* 'some, a few, several' are based on the Mandarin quantifier *jǐ-ge* (几个), 'a few, several'. They can be used both as quantifiers indicating small numbers (as in 219 and 220) and as a question word 'how many' for small numbers (as in 221). Consider:

(219) *ngu* *bijin-li* *xho* **jhi** *tang*
  1SG Beijing-LOC good **several** time

  qhi-gu-lio
  go-COMPL-PFV
  'I have been to Beijing many times.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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(220)　A:　　　*gu-jhege*　　*pize*　　*quandi*
　　　　　　　3-PAUC　　leather　clothes

　　　　　　　quan-di-li=a
　　　　　　　wear-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　　　　'Do they (the people in this country) wear leather clothes?'

　　　　B:　　　**yi-jhi-ge**　　　　　*rang*　　*be-la*
　　　　　　　one-a few-REF　　　　person　　NEG-COND

　　　　　　　mi-li
　　　　　　　EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
　　　　　　　'Except just a few people, nobody does.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(221)　*nga-mu*　　*liang-ge-de*　　　　*tangga*　　**jhi-ge**
　　　　1-COLL　　two-REF-ATTR　　　　thangka　　**how many-REF**

　　　yai　　*wanlan-lio*　　*ze-li*
　　　month　　do-PFV　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　'How many months have our thangkas been made?'
　　　(Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Reduplication of the quantifier *jhi-ge* gives the sentence a distributive meaning:

(222)　*dico*　　**jhi-ge~jhi-ge-de**　　　　　*hen-di-li*
　　　hour　　**a few-REF~a few-REF-ATTR**　　share-PROGR-SEN.INF
　　　'(They) exchange the car in every few hours.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas,
　　　Smoking and Car)

The Amdo Tibetan-based quantifier for small numbers is *zaige* (WT *tse.tse.gzig*) 'some, a little' (as in 223), which also has a reduplicated variants *zaige-zai* and *zai~zaige* (as in 224):

(223)　*da*　　*hua*　　*je-ge*　　*sho-ma*　　*qhe-la*
　　　then　　speech　　this-REF　　say-COORD　start-COND

　　　da　　**zaige**　　*xxandang*
　　　then　　**a little**　　be different

　　　mezzha-la-de-ge　　　　　*hai-li*
　　　be different-INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF　　EQU-SEN.INF
　　　'To say something about this language (the Wutun language), it's a bit different
　　　(from Tibetan and Chinese).' (The Wutun Village)

(224)　A:　　　*gu-jhege*　　*rek*　　*qe-di-li-a*
　　　　　　　3-PAUC　　meat　　eat-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　　　　'Do they (the people in this country) eat meat?'

B: *cancanma* **zaigezai**   *qe-di-li*
       sometimes **a little**   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'Sometimes they eat a little (meat).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Sometimes the Mandarin quantifier *yidia* (SM *yīdiǎnr* 一点儿) is also used:

(225)   *guntang*   **yidia**   *xhe-she-ma*   *za-da*
        breakfast **a little** drink-RES.AO-COORD   smoke-CONSEQ

        xho-li=mu
        good-SEN.INF=INTERR
        'It is good to have some breakfast first before smoking (early in the morning),
        isn't it?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The quantifiers expressing large numbers are *yi-gai-ge*, 'many, much, a lot of' and
do~do-de, 'many, much, a lot of':

(226)   *ngu*   **yigaige**   *sho-gu-lio*
        1SG   **a lot of** say-COMPL-PFV
        'I have talked a lot.' (Conversation 1: 79)

(227)   *hura-li*   *hu*   **do~do-de**   *zhun-ma-li*
        garden-LOC   flower   **many~many-NMLZ**   grow-RES.PO-SEN.INF
        'There are lot of flowers plant in the garden.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The quantifier *do* (SM *duō* 多) is used alone as a verbal quantifier that functions as a predicate (see Section 4.13). When reduplicated and combined with the attributive marker -*de*, yielding the form *do~do-de*, it is used as a nominal quantifier to modify the head noun. The quantifier *do* also forms the basis for a question word *do-xige*, 'when' (see Section 3.6.3).

Finally, there is the quantifier *yidaze* (SM *yīdā* 一搭 + *zi* 子), 'all, everyone', which is based on Chinese elements. It can be used both as a modifier of the head noun (as in 228) and as an independent noun (as in 229):

(228)   *ngu-de*   *quandi-de*   *mu*
        1SG-ATTR   clothes-NMLZ   TOP

        to-gu-ge-ma   *ssanxhan*   **yidaze**
        take off-COMPL-CAUS-COORD   monk's clothes   **all**
        '(You) took my clothes off, all of my monk's clothes…' (ELDP, corpus
        WT09_4)

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(229)	*yidaze*	*qhichai*	*gala-ma-da*	*goba*
	all	car	like-RES.PO-CONSEQ	option

mi-li
EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
'Everyone likes the car, so there is no choice (they must share the car).'
(Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

3.8 Attributive phrases

Nouns in Wutun are frequently modified by genitive attributes, relative clauses and adjective attributes. Wutun genitive attributes and relative clauses share two formal properties: they always precede the head noun and they are connected to the head noun with the attributive marker -*de*. Therefore, I will discuss them under common label *attributive phrases*. Adjective attributes are also marked by -*de*, but they differ from other types of attributes in that they can occur either in attributive phrases before the noun, or as nominalized adjectives after the noun.

The grammatical function of attributive phrases is to restrict the reference of the head noun. The Wutun attributive marker -*de* (SM -*de* 的) has cognates in several other Sinitic languages, which mark genitive attributes and relative clauses with the same morpheme. The core function of this marker is nominalization (see Section 4.11), but as nominalizers in other Sino-Tibetan languages, -*de* in Wutun extends beyond its core function and it goes on to mark adverbial subordinate clauses, relative clauses and exclamations, as well as genitive attributes and post-nominal adjective attributes.[3] Genitive attributes are discussed in Section 3.8.1 and relative clauses in Section 3.8.2. Adjective attributes are dealt with in Section 3.8.3.

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[3] In glossing -*de*, I will take into a consideration the syntactic construction in which it is used. I will gloss -*de* as ATTR=ATTRIBUTIVE when it is used to connect attributive phrases (genitive attributes and relative clauses) to the head noun and the label NMLZ=NOMINALIZER will be reserved for cases where -*de* marks nominalizations occurring as arguments of the clause, subordinate clauses or non-embedded nominalization constructions. Several other descriptions of Sino-Tibetan languages follow the same practice (see e.g. Yue 2003: 113 for Sinitic languages; Hargreaves 2003: 379 for Kathmandu Newar), because it is common in these languages that a nominalizer is used as an attributive marker.

3.8.1 Genitive attributes

The attributive *-de* is often used in genitive attributes to connect two noun phrases and to indicate a semantic association between them. The most common semantic associations expressed by *-de* include possession and part-whole relationships. In (230) and (231) *-de* is used as a genitive to indicate association between the possessor and the possessed:

(230)   *dojjai-**de***   *jhi-ge*   *lai-gu-ma-li=mu*
         PN-**ATTR**   a few-REF   come-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF=INTERR
         'Has Dojjai's family come back?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(231)   *je*   *nga-n-**de***   *mize-**de***   *yang*
         this   1-COLL-**ATTR**   younger sister-**ATTR**   sheep

         hai-li
         EQU-SEN.INF
         'This is our little sister's sheep.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In Standard Mandarin, which also has genitive attributes marked by *-de*, it is possible to omit *-de* in cases of inalienable possession when the possessor is a personal pronoun and the possessed is a family member or a relative. In Wutun, this rule does not hold and there is no formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. In my data, *-de* was always used even when talking about close relatives:

(232)   *ngu-**de***   *ana*   *lo-gu-ma-li*
         1SG-**ATTR**   mother   old-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
         'My mother has become old.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In addition to possession, *-de* also marks other types of associations where two nouns belong together. These include part-whole relationships, such as body parts (as in 233) and phrases indicating location (as in 234):

(233)   *ngu-**de***   *la*   *da-qai-lio*
         1SG-**ATTR**   foot   hit-get broken-PFV
         'My foot got broken.'(Xiawu Dongzhou)

(234) *da*   *waiwo-**de** *zzojjhen* *hai-yek*
       then   Nepal-**ATTR** tradition EQU-EGO
       '… (this thangka painting), it is a Nepalese tradition.' (The Wutun Village)

Finally, attributive phrases are used with postpositions. Wutun has a class of postpositions that express various temporal and spatial meanings, as well as the meanings 'among', 'in addition to' and 'together'. When postpositions are used with a noun, the noun is often connected to the postposition with *-de*. Postpositions are discussed in Section 5.1; here are two examples:

(235) *do-shek-**de***   *mian*   *qhichai-ge* *lai-di-li*
       left-hand-**ATTR**   side   car-REF   come-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'The car was coming on the left side (of the road).' (Bike)

(236) *yegai-**de*** *hanqai*   *lha*   *la*   *jho-di-li*
       letter-**ATTR** in addition deity   also   teach-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'In addition to writing, thangka painting is taught (at schools) as well.'
       (The Wutun Village)

3.8.2 Relative clauses

Nominalization and relativization systems are essentially the same in Wutun; Wutun relative clauses are nominalized clauses preposed as modifiers to the head noun, and there are no relative pronouns. Examples (237), (238) and (239) illustrate Wutun relative clauses. Both nouns and pronouns can occur as heads of the relative clauses. Wutun allows relativization of both core and non-core arguments, such as Agents (as in 237), Patients (as in 238) and instrumental-like arguments (as in 239):

(237) *gu-liangge* *jhang menzai*   *conjena*
       DIST-SOC   nowadays   as for this

       je-de   *hua*   *je-ge-ha*
       this-ATTR speech   this-REF-OD

       xijjek   *ze-di-**de***   *ren*   *ra*
       research do-PROGR-**ATTR**   person also

       zaige   *do-li*
       some   (be) many-SEN.INF

'Therefore, nowadays, this language, as for it, there are quite many people doing research on it (lit. many research-doing people). (The Wutun Village)

(238) *ni*   *sho-**de***   *gu*   *ngu*   *ddo-la-li*
       2SG   say-**ATTR**   that   1SG   agree-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
       'That, what you are saying, I agree (with you).' (Cairangji)

(239) *nga-ha*   *huaiqa*   *mai-**de***   *yenze*   *yek*
       1SG.OBL-OD   book   buy-**ATTR**   money   EXIST
       'I have money for buying books.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

For more examples on relative clauses, see Sections 4.11.2 and 10.2.2.

3.8.3   Adjective attributes

Adjectives in Wutun show mixed verbal and nominal features. They can be used as predicates like verbs. When used as predicates, they occur as the final element in the clause like verbs and take all the verbal markers, such as aspect and evidential marking; in other words, Wutun has no predication construction specifically for property words. However, Wutun does have an attributive construction specifically for property words and this allows postulating adjectives as a distinct word class. Adjective attributes in Wutun can either precede or follow the head noun. When attributive adjectives precede the head noun, they occur in relative clauses like verbs:

(240) *da*   *ngu-jhege*   *jjekzhen*   *je-ge-li*
       then   1-PAUC   world   this-REF-LOC

       zui   *xho-**de***   *ti*   *she-li*   *qhi-de*
       most   good-**ATTR** place   on-LOC   go-NMLZ
       'We will go to the best place in the world…' (Picnic)

While relative clauses obligatorily precede the noun, adjective attributes can also be used post-nominally:

(241) *nga-ha*   *zzon-la-da*   *gu*   *gu-duru*
        1SG.OBL-OD for someone-ABL-then   that   that-PL

        xaige   *xang~xang-**de-ge***   *hai-de*
        very   delicious-delicious-**NMLZ-REF**   EQU-NMLZ
        'I find those (traditional dishes of our village) very delicious.'
        (Traditional Food)

(242) *ngu*   *hu*   *yak-la~la-**de-ge***
        1SG   flower   beautiful-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-**NMLZ-REF**

        mai-lio
        buy-PFV
        'I bought a very beautiful flower.' (Cairangji)

    The two structures for attributive adjectives have different morphology. Post-nominal adjective attributes are marked as referential by the suffix *-ge*[4], while *-ge* cannot be used in relative clauses. In addition, post-nominal adjective attributes are typically reduplicated, while verbs and adjectives occurring in relative clauses are not. Post-nominal adjective attributes can be formed adjectives of both Chinese (as in 241) and Tibetan origin (as in 242). In adjectives with Tibetan origin, such as the adjective *yak*, 'beautiful' in (242), the incompletive suffix *-la* (see Section 6.3.1) has become part of the verb stem and it is reduplicated when the adjective is used attributively. Genetti (2011) has shown that in Tibeto-Burman languages nominalized adjectival verbs occurring in relative clauses often give rise to adjectives as unique lexical class. In the majority of cases, adjectival verb is the only element in the relative clause, resulting in a one-word phrase that expresses a property of a noun. This structure can easily be reinterpreted as derived lexical adjective (Genetti 2011: 181-182). It seems possible that in Wutun the nominalizer *-de* can be used to derive true lexical adjectives from property words that occur in relative clauses. This may be the result of language contact, because Tibetan has a distinct class of adjectives that are derived through nominalization. In Tibetic languages, adjective attributes derived through nominalization often occur after the noun, while in Standard Mandarin adjective attributes always precede the noun. The language contact with Amdo Tibetan has most probably contributed to the word order change in relative clauses that allows the adjectives to occur post-nominally.

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[4] In the case of adjective attributes, *-ge* could be alternatively analysed as a clitic because it attaches to the last element of the adjectival phrase and the phrase as a whole is marked as referential.

3.9 Coordination of noun phrases

Two conjoining noun phrases can be coordinated by either suffix *-ma* or the particle *da*, 'now, and, also, then'. The coordinating element follows the first noun phrase in a pair of conjoined noun phrases:

(243) *san-ge*   *yai-**ma***   *she-wu*   *tian*
       three-REF   month-**COORD**   fifteen   day

       xhen-la-da
       walk-INCOMPL-CONSEQ

       zang-li   *do-di*   *mende-ge*   *hai-li*
       Tibet-LOC   arrive-PROGR   like that   EQU-SEN.INF
       'Only if you walked two months and fifteen days would you arrive in Tibet, that's how it was.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(244) *qhichai*   *liang-ge*   ***da***   *yipeng*   *liang-ge*
       car   two-REF   **and**   lorry   two-REF

       da   *gejhai-na*   *zhijie*
       then   self-OBL   straight
       'There were two cars and two lorries (coming) straight towards him…' (Bike)

The coordinative suffix *-ma* is macro-functional, so that it connects both verb phrases in clause chaining (see Section 10.1.1.1) and conjoining noun phrases. The particle *da*, 'now, and, also, then' has various functions. It can modify nominal arguments or entire clauses to express their inclusion to the following syntactic unit, to connect noun phrases or to express temporal meanings (see Section 5.3.4).

The particle *da* can be used in lists. When listing more than two noun phrases, *da* comes after every noun phrase in the list and the last noun phrase in the list receives number marking:

(245) *jashe*   ***da***   *gu-de*   *adia*   ***da***
       PN   **and**   3SG-ATTR   monk   **and**

       asek-jhege   *bijin*   *qhi-gu-ma-li*
       sister-in-law-PAUC   Beijing   go-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
       'Jashe and the monk and the sister-in-law (of his family) went to Beijing.'
       (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

4 The Verb Complex

This chapter discusses the structure of the verb complex in Wutun. With the verb complex I mean the verb and its modifiers, including both bound verbal morphology (such as aspect markers and evidential markers) and structurally independent auxiliaries. Verbs occur as predicates and they can make up a sentence with appropriate nominals. Verbs are the locus of voice and tense/aspect/modality. These categories are expressed by means of verbal suffixes, complement verbs and auxiliaries. Markers of interrogation, negation, imperatives and evidentiality are also attached to the verb, although they target the sentence as a whole. Verbs require nominalization to be able to occur as arguments or as topics and to be able to take nominal grammatical markers, such as number or case markers. In complex sentences, multiple non-final clauses marked by one of the non-final suffixes precede the final clause. The verbs in non-final clauses take verbal suffixes that indicate the logical, temporal or modal relationship between the non-final clause and the final clause.

Section 4.1 illustrates the general structure and order of elements in a verb phrase. Section 4.2 briefly describes aspect marking and Section 4.3 illustrates the causative construction. Section 4.4 provides a brief outline of evidential markers. The chapter then turns to the phenomena of verbal negation (Section 4.5), polar questions (Section 4.6) and imperatives (Section 4.7). Section 4.8 deals with complement verbs and Section 4.9 with auxiliaries. Section 4.10 summarizes the non-final verb forms. The chapter then discusses nominalization (Section 4.11), and concludes with the treatment of two verb-like word classes, adjectives and verbal quantifiers (Sections 4.12 and 4.13, respectively).

4.1 General structure of the verb complex

The order of elements in a verb complex is summarized by Figure 2:

Figure 2. *Verb complex*[5]

(Adv)	(Neg)	V{Asp}	{Asp}	(Asp)	(Evid)	{Interr}
		{Comp}	{Caus}			{Imp}

Where Adv=manner adverb or degree adverb, Neg=negative prefix, V=main verb, Asp=aspect marker, Comp=complement verb, Caus=causative marker, Evid=evidential marker, Interr=interrogative marker, Imp=imperative marker

Almost all the verbs in Wutun are obligatorily marked for evidentiality. The only exceptions are verbs marked for imperative mood and prospective aspect that cannot be combined with evidential markers. A verb complex may consist of one lexical verb unmarked for aspect, followed by an evidential marker:

(246) *loshe*   *ma-ge*   *sho-**li***
         teacher   what-REF   say-**SEN.INF**
         'What did the teacher say (as you observed/inferred)?' (Conversation 1_School)

In addition to evidentiality, Wutun verb phrases always indicate aspect. However, because the imperfective aspect is morphologically unmarked, verb phrases do not always have an overt aspect marker. The perfective aspect marker *-lio* (see Sections 4.2, 6.2.1 and 7.1.3) has an inherently evidential meaning and it can therefore occur without evidential markers.

Verbs can be negated (as in 247), and they can be modified by manner adverbs or degree adverbs (as in 248):

(247) *da*   ***mi**-lai-lio*   *ze-li*
         then   NEG-come-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
         'Then the zombie did not appear anymore.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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[5] Alternating morphemes are indicated by curly brackets.

(248)   *ngu*   *gu-ha*   ***xaige***   *gga-la-li*
         1SG   3SG-OD   **very**   like-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
         'I like him/her very much.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Ability to take degree adverbs and negative morphemes as modifiers is one feature that distinguishes verbs from nouns. Unlike other verbal categories that are marked by suffixes, negation is marked by prefixes placed immediately before the main verb (as in 247).

     The verb may take one or more aspect markers (as in 249, 250 and 251) or complement verbs (as in 249), as well as the causative suffix (as in 251):

(249)   *tianqhi*   *rai-**qhe-lio***
         weather   (be) hot-**start-PFV**
         'The weather got hot.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(250)   *ni*   *xan*   *getan-**lio**=mu*
         2SG   cord   cut-**PFV**=INTERR
         'Did you cut the cord?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(251)   *ana*   *galamala-ha*   *xen*   *quandi*
         mother   child-OD   new   clothes

         *quan-**ge-di**-li*
         put:on-**CAUS-PROGR**-SEN.INF
         'Mother is putting new clothes on the child.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Complement verbs have their origins in full lexical verbs and most of them still survive in their lexical function. However, when used as complement verbs, they have become partly grammaticalized verbs that have lost part of their semantic content, as well as structural and phonological independence, and they are used as suffixes after the main verb (see Sections 4.8 and 6.5.1). They add both semantic and grammatical meaning to the main verb, and they frequently express aspectual and modal meanings (e.g. complement *qhe*, 'to start' in example 249 that retains its lexical meaning, but also adds resultative meaning to the main verb). Complement verbs are attached directly to the main verb, and fully grammaticalized aspect markers, evidential markers and interrogative or imperative markers follow the complement verb.

     Wutun has a set of auxiliaries that are structurally more independent than verbal suffixes and complement verbs, and they express various aspectual, modal and evidential meanings (see Section 4.9.). In an auxiliary verb construction, complement verbs and aspect

markers follow the main verb, while evidential marking, interrogative marking and imperative marking are placed on the auxiliary. The auxiliary itself often carries temporal-aspectual, modal or evidential meaning. The main verb may require (but does not always need) nominalization by the suffix *-de* to be able to take an auxiliary as a modifier (as in 252):

(252)   *gu*   *nga-ha*   *yenyek*
             3SG   1SG.OBL-OD   English

             *jho-di-**de***   ***re***
             teach-PROGR-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
             'S/he is teaching me English (as is generally known).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

4.2 Aspect markers

Wutun verbs are obligatorily marked for aspect. Aspect markers express the internal temporal structure of the situation (e.g. whether the situation is viewed as on-going or terminated). Verbal stems unmarked for aspect have a default interpretation of imperfective aspect (as in 253):

(253)   *je*   *dondak*   *ngu*   *jedo-li*
             this   matter   1SG   know-SEN.INF
             'I know this matter.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In addition to the morphologically zero-marked imperfective aspect, there are four primary aspect markers: perfective *-lio* (as in 254), progressive *-di* (as in 255), patient-oriented resultative *-ma* (as in 256) and prospective *-zhe* (as in 257):

(254)   *ngu*   *cu*   *yegai-ge*   *xai-**lio***
             1SG   yesterday   letter-REF   write-**PFV**
             'I wrote a letter yesterday.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(255)   *ngu*   *rek*   *qe-**di**-yek*
             1SG   meat   eat-**PROGR**-EGO
             'I am eating meat.' (Cairangji)

(256)   *hura-li*   *hu*   *dodode*   *zhun-**ma**-li*
              garden-LOC   flower   many   plant-**RES.PO**-SEN.INF
              'There are lot of flowers plant in the garden.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(257)   *ngu*   *rongbo-li*   *qhi-**zhe***
              1SG   Longwu-LOC   go-**PROSP**
              'I am going to Longwu.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

It should be noted that while verbs in Wutun generally require evidential marking, some of the aspect markers are not combined with evidential markers. The perfective *-lio* (as in 254) has an inherent evidential meaning. When used alone in the verb complex without any overt evidential markers, it has the default interpretation of ego evidentiality (speaker's personal involvement in events or states, see Sections 4.4.1 and 7.1). The prospective *-zhe* (as in 257), which often has an inherent future meaning, cannot be combined with evidential markers and verbs with prospective aspect therefore do not take evidential markers.

In Wutun, aspect is a very complex category and it is possible to use more than one aspect marker with the same verb (multiple aspect marking). There are two sets of aspect markers: primary aspect markers and secondary aspect markers, which are cross-linguistically less common than the primary aspect markers. The perfective, progressive, patient-oriented resultative and prospective illustrated in (254)-(257) function as primary aspect markers. Wutun also has three secondary aspect markers: incompletive *-la* (as in 258), completive *-gu* (as in 259) and agent-oriented resultative *-she* (as in 260):

(258)   *ngu*   *ni*   *lai*   *be-ji-li*
              1SG   2SG   come   NEG-reach-SEN.INF

              *ddo-**la**-lio*
              think-**INCOMPL**-PFV
              'I thought you will not come in time.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(259)   *gu*   *she*   *zha-**gu**-lio*   *ze-li*
              that   house   explode-**COMPL**-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
              'That house exploded.' (Cairangji)

(260)   *je*   *nian*   *nga-n-de*   *jashe*
          this   year   1-COLL-ATTR   PN

          qhichai-ge   *mai-**she**-lio*
          car-REF   buy-**RES.AO**-PFV
          'This year our Jashe bought a car. (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

While secondary aspect markers can sometimes be used as the only aspect marker on the verb, they are more often combined with one of the primary aspect markers. When they are used with the primary aspect markers, they are always based in between the verbal stem and the primary aspect marker. The primary aspect marker, which occurs as the last aspect marking element on the verb, sets the main framework for the temporal structure of the situation, while secondary aspect marker offers further specification of the temporal structure of the situation within the main framework. Examples (258)-(260) all express terminated situations, which is indicated by the primary aspect marker, perfective *-lio*. However, the terminated situations have different internal structures, which is indicated by the secondary aspect markers, incompletive *-la*, completive *-gu* and agent-oriented resultative *-she*. In (258) the terminated situation has an internal structure of a state that has not led to any results, while in (259) the terminated situation is viewed as completed event that totally affects the entity. In (260), the situation has been terminated due to the past actions of the Agent, which has reached a new end state.

     In (261), two secondary aspect markers (incompletive *-la* and completive *-gu*) are combined with the primary aspect marker (perfective *-lio*) to express three different reference points to the event structure. The event is viewed first as an on-going activity, then completed and finally terminated:

(261)   *ngu*   *gu-ha*   *dadada*   *jja-**la-gu**-lio*
          1SG   3SG-OD   just   meet-**INCOMPL-COMPL-PFV**
          'I just visited him/her (the visit lasted for some time, was completed just a moment ago and is over now).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Aspect marking is discussed thoroughly in Chapter 6, which is devoted to the semantics of different aspect markers, as well as multiple aspect marking.

4.3 Causative suffix *-ge*

Causative predicates in Wutun are formed by attaching the verbal suffix *-ge* to the verb. The origin of the causative suffix is still unclear, but it might be connected with the Mandarin Chinese verb *gěi,* (给), 'to give', or Mongolic causative marker *-ge ~ -ga* (< Mongolic **ki-*, 'to do'), which is attested in Bonan and Mangghuer. It is also possible that Sinitic and Mongolic influences have both contributed to the Wutun causative marking and reinforced each other. The examples (262) and (263) illustrate causative marking:

> (262)   *ggaiggan*   *lhoma*   *she-li*   *qhi-gu-**ge**-lio*
>   teacher   student   house-LOC   go-COMPL-**CAUS**-PFV
>   AGENT   CAUSEE
>   'The teacher sent the student home (lit. made the student go home).'
>   (Myrtle Cairangji)

> (263)   *ana*   *galamala-ha*   *xen*   *quandi*
>   mother   child-OD   new   clothes
>   AGENT   CAUSEE
>
>   *quan-**ge**-di-li*
>   put:on-**CAUS**-PROGR-SEN.INF
>   'Mother is putting new clothes on the child.'
>   'Mother is making the child to wear the new clothes.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Causative construction adjusts the valence of the verb by adding the Agent/Causer argument (such as *ggaiggan*, 'teacher' in 262 and *ana*, 'mother' in 263) referring to the causer of the event. Causative *-ge* in Wutun has a very broad semantic meaning. It can express both indirect and direct causation (the example 263 could mean either: 'The mother makes the child to wear new clothes' or 'Mother is putting new clothes to the child.') and both transitive verbs involving physical manipulation (such as *quan*, 'to put on') and intransitive verbs expressing states/processes or activities (such as *qhi*, 'to go') can be causativized. A more complete discussion of syntax and semantics of the causative constructions is provided in Section 8.2.5.1.

4.4 Evidential markers

Evidentiality refers to the grammatical marking of information source. In Wutun, every finite verb is obligatorily marked for evidentiality (except imperatives and verbs marked for prospective aspect that do not allow evidential marking). Wutun has two evidential subsystems: egophoric marking, which refers to a grammatical distinction between the situations speaker has (volitionally) participated (ego evidentials) and the situations speaker has not participated (non-ego evidentials) (Section 4.4.1). In addition, Wutun has a distinct marker for reported information, which is used together with evidentials participating in egophoric marking to express multiple information sources (Section 4.4.2).

4.4.1 Egophoric marking

Wutun makes a grammatical distinction between ego-evidentials and two types of non-ego evidentials, sensory-inferential and factual. Ego evidentials express the speaker's personal involvement in events or states, while non-ego evidentials indicate that the speaker bases his/her statement on some other information source than personal involvement: either sensory evidence or inference (sensory-inferential evidentiality) or common knowledge (factual evidentiality). In terms of morphology, evidentiality in Wutun is not related to just one type of expression. Ego evidentiality is expressed by the evidential suffix -*yek*, the existential auxiliary *yek* (which is the diachronic source of the more grammaticalized ego suffix -*yek*) and the perfective aspect suffix -*lio*. Sensory-inferential evidentiality is expressed by the evidential suffix -*li* or auxiliary construction *ze-li*. Factual evidentiality is expressed by the auxiliary *re*, which is attached to a nominalized verb. Examples are provided here as an introduction to the morphological means by which evidentiality is expressed; the grammatical and semantic details of the system are discussed in Chapter 7.

(264)   *ngu*   *quandi*   *xi-di-**yek***
         1SG   clothes   wash-PROGR-**EGO**
         'I am washing clothes (personal involvement).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(265)   *ni*   *ma-ge*   *nian-di-**yek***
           2SG   what-REF   read-PROGR-**EGO**
           'What are you reading (personal involvement)?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(266)   *nga*   *yoshe*   ***yek***
           1SG.OBL   keys   **EXIST**
           'I have the keys (personal involvement).' (Cairangji)

(267)   *ngu*   *hu*   *yak-la~la-de-ge*
           1SG   flower   beautiful-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF

           *mai-**lio***
           buy-**PFV**
           'I bought a very beautiful flower (personal involvement).' (Cairangji)

(268)   *sangdek*   *she-li*   *yek-**li***
           PN   home-LOC   EXIST-**SEN.INF**
           'Sangdek is at home (as I see/infer).' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(269)   *gu*   *gu-ha*   *jhan-lio*   ***ze-li***
           3SG   3SG-OD   see-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
           'S/he saw him/her (as I see/infer).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(270)   *wu-yai-dang-de*   *co*
           five-month-festival-ATTR   after

           lek-yai-he   *yek-**de***   ***re***   *da*
           six-month-festival   EXIST-**NMLZ**   **FACT**   then
           'After the May Festival, there is the Leru Festival (as is generally known).'
           (Village Festivals)

In declarative clauses, ego evidentials are most common with first person (as in 264, 266 and 267), while non-ego evidentials are more common with non-first person (as in 268 - 270). This is natural, because we are best aware of our own personal involvement in situations. In questions the perspective is reversed and ego evidential can be used with second person (as in 265), because the speaker expects the addressee's involvement in the situation. However, Wutun evidentiality system is very flexible and any evidential can be used with any person in both declarative and interrogative clauses if the relevant pragmatic conditions are met. Typical factors conditioning evidential marking in Wutun are e.g. volitionality and the degree

of certainty of the speaker. Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials are discussed in Chapter 7.

4.4.2 Reported evidential *sho*

In addition to the evidentials participating in egophoric marking, Wutun has a distinct evidential for reported information. The reported evidential in Wutun is based on the auxiliary *sho*, which is a grammaticalized form of the full lexical verb *sho* 'to say, to speak' and a cognate of the Standard Mandarin verb *shuō* (说) 'to say, to speak'. When used as a reported evidential, this auxiliary is used in combination with the sensory-inferential marker -*li*, resulting in the form *sho-li* 'they say' (as in 271):

(271)   *gu*   *she*   *zha-gu-lio*   ***ze-li***
        that   house   explode-COMPL-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**

sho-li
REP-SEN.INF
'That house exploded, they say (I heard it from other people who saw it).'
(Cairangji)

The reported evidential is always used in combination with either ego, sensory-inferential or factual evidential. When evidentials expressing egophoricity are used together with the reported evidential, the sentence represents multiple perspectives to the information source. The reported evidential represents the information source of the speaker, while the egophoric marker expresses the information source of the person who originally reported the information. More examples on reported evidentiality are provided in Sections 4.9.1 and 7.1.2.

4.5 Negation of verbs

Verbal negation in Wutun is expressed by either negative prefixes or negative copulas. Overview of the verbal markers that express verbal negation is given in this section, and a

more complete discussion of syntactic and semantic properties of negative clauses is provided in Section 9.2.

4.5.1 Negative prefixes

Wutun has three negative prefixes, *be-* (SM negative particle *bù* 不), *mi-* (SM negative particle *méi* 没) and *bai-* (SM prohibitive particle *biè* 别). The negative prefix *be-* negates the existence of an event or a state and is therefore often used in imperfective aspect (as in 272), while the negative prefix *mi-* negates the completion of an event and is typically used in perfective aspect (as in 273). The negative prefix *bai-* functions as a prohibitive and it is used to negate imperatives (as in 274):

(272)   *zang*   ***be-****xho-li*   *ya*
           Tibet   **NEG-**good-SEN.INF   EMPH
           'Central Tibet is not (a) good (place to sell thangkas). (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(273)   *da*   ***mi-****lai-lio*   *ze-li*
           then   **NEG-**come-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
           'After that the zombie did not come back anymore.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(274)   *hai*   ***bai-****qhi*
           INTJ   **PROH-**go
           'Hey, don't go!' (Conversation 1_School)

A more detailed discussion of negative prefixes is found in Section 9.2.1.

4.5.2 Negative copulas

The negative copulas, the negative equative copula *bai* and the negative existential copula *mi* are the negative counterparts of the equative copula *hai* and the existential copula *yek* (see Sections 4.9.2 and 9.2.1.3). Although homonymous with the negative prefix *mi-* and the prohibitive prefix *bai-*, copulas *bai* and *mi* are distinct elements that function as structurally

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independent verbs. The negative equative copula *bai* is used to negate equative predicates (as in 275), while the negative existential copula *mi* is used to negate predicate adjectives or existential, locative or possessive predicates (as in 276):

(275) *gu*   *ggaiggan*   ***bai*-*li***
       3SG   teacher   **EQU.NEG**-SEN.INF
       'S/he is not a teacher.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(276) *ana-ha*   *xawa*   ***mi*-*yek***
       mother-OD   work   **EXIST.NEG**-EGO
       'My mother has no job.' (Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

Negative copulas are discussed in more detail in Sections 4.9.2 and 9.2.3.

4.6 Question markers

Wutun has two interrogative clitics, =*a* (as in 277) and =*mu* (as in 278) that attach to fully inflected verbs. They are the most common strategies for forming polar questions:

(277) *gu-jhege*   *rek*   *qe-di-li*=***a***
       3-PAUC   meat   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF=**INTERR**
       'Do they (the people in this country) eat meat?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(278) *lhoma-jhege*   *jhan-lio*=***mu***
       student-PAUC   see-PFV=**INTERR**
       'Did the students see (the woman near the school)?' (Conversation 1_School)

The question marker =*mu* is one of the few grammatical morphemes in Wutun that have been unambiguously been borrowed from Bonan (see Section 9.1.1.1). In addition to polar questions marked on verbs by suffixes, Wutun has many other strategies of expressing interrogation and a more complete overview of interrogation is given in Section 9.1.

4.7 Imperative markers

Wutun has different imperative mood markers for first, second and third person. Second person imperatives are often indicated by either the bare stem (as in 279) or the imperative suffix -*da* (as in 280):

(279) *agu*　　　　*ni*　　　　*lai*
　　　　girl　　　　2SG　　　　come

　　　　ni　　　　*liang-ge*　　*lai-ma*　　　　　*sho*
　　　　2SG　　　　two-REF　　come-COORD　　　　speak
　　　　'Little sister, come here! You two, speak with each other!' (Conversation 1_School)

(280) *aba*　　　　*nga*　　　　*yiqang*　　*din-**da***
　　　　father　　　1SG.OBL　　a:while　　wait-**IMP**
　　　　'Father, wait for me!' (Bike)

First person imperatives are expressed by the suffix -*lai* (Mandarin Chinese verb *lái*, to come'):

(281) *ngu-jhege*　*yida*　　*qhi-**lai***
　　　　1-PAUC　　together　go-**1.IMP**
　　　　'Let's go together.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Third person imperatives are indicated by the causative marker -*ge*:

(282) *gu-ha*　　　*menzo*　　*lai-**ge***
　　　　3SG-OD　　tomorrow　come-**CAUS**
　　　　'Let him come tomorrow!' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The imperative markers are discussed in detail in Section 9.3.

4.8 Complement verbs

In Wutun, many regular verbs (such as *do*, 'to get done', *se*, 'to die', *jhan*, 'to see', *qhi*, 'to go') can be employed as complement verbs[6] in verb-complement constructions. Most of these verbs survive in their original lexical function and they can also be used as independent predicates. However, when used as complement verbs, they have lost part of their semantic meaning, as well as syntactic and phonological independence and become partly grammaticalized elements that are used suffixally in combination with the main verb. The TAME markers always follow the complement verb, and the verb-complement complex cannot be interrupted by placing any grammatical markers in between them. The degree of grammaticalization of the different complement verbs varies, with some complement verbs retaining more of their lexical meaning than others. In (283) the verb *da*, 'to hit' is used without a complement verb, while in (284) it is used together with the complement verb *pe*, 'to get broken':

(283) *ni*   *nga*   *da-lio*
       2SG   1SG.OBL   hit-PFV
       'You hit me. / You have beaten me.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(284) *ni*   *zhaze*   *da-**pe**-lio*   *ze-li*
       2SG   window   hit-**get broken**-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'You have broken (lit. hit and broken) the window.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (283) the event 'hit' is expressed by the verb *da*, but there is no reference to the outcome of the event (e.g. the person hit getting hurt). In (284), on the other hand, the main activity 'hit' is expressed by the verb *da* and the complement verb *pe*, 'to get broken' specifies the outcome of the main activity and its effect to the Patient (the window hit getting broken). In addition to this lexical meaning, the complement *pe* adds aspectual meaning of completion and punctuality to the main verb. In (283) there is no reference to the endpoint or the outcome of the event 'hit' and the example could be translated either as 'you hit me' or 'you have

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[6] I use the term *complement verb* because this is a common practice in the study of Sinitic languages (see e.g. Yue 2003: 116). Alternative terminology for functionally equivalent phenomena in other language families is widely used in typological literature. For example, in her study of Nivkh (Paleo-Siberian) syntax, Mattissen (2003: 185) uses the term *verb root serialization*, which she defines as two adjoining verb roots that coalesce into one accentual unit, with the TAM markers following the second root. Verb root serialization in Nivkh resembles verb-complement constructions in Sinitic languages in terms of its form and function.

beaten me'. However, in (284) the complement *pe* stresses the event as punctual, completed process with a clear outcome. From the functional point of view, complement verbs can be divided into aspect complements (Section 4.8.1) and modal complements (Section 4.8.2), depending on whether their grammaticalized function is biased towards aspect or modality. Aspect complements mark the completion and the outcome of the event expressed by the main verb, while modal complements indicate the necessity or possibility of the event expressed by the main verb.

4.8.1 Aspect complements

Aspect complements add completive meaning to the main verb. They can also contribute to the lexical meaning of the main verb (e.g. *nia*, 'to press'; VERB-COMPL *nia-se* 'press-die' =crush to death; *tin*, 'to listen'; VERB-COMPL *tin-jhan* 'listen-see' =to hear) and the combination of the main verb and the complement verb often has a holistic meaning, which is slightly different from the meaning of the main verb. However, the degree of grammaticalization of the different aspect complements varies greatly and while some complements add both aspectual and lexical meaning to the main verb, some complements have lost most of their lexical meaning and they merely express a general aspectual meaning of completion. I will first summarize the Wutun aspect complements in Table 12 and then continue on investigating the meaning of each complement together with its main verb.

Table 12. *Aspect complements*

guan, 'to get used to'
man, 'to get finished'
je, 'to hit'
jhan, 'to see'
pe, 'to get broken'
qai, 'to get broken'
lai 'to get into contact'
se, 'to die'
do, 'to get done'
kai, 'to start'
qhe, 'to start'
qhi, 'to go'
lai, 'to come'
qui, 'to get an outcome, to exit'
ze, 'to do'
qhe, 'to be able to'
qen, 'to manage'

The complements *guan*, 'to get used to' (SM *guàn* 惯, 'to get used to') and *man*, 'to get finished' (SM *wàn* 完, 'to get finished') add resultative meaning to the main verb:

(285)   *ni*   *zhungo-de*   *sama*
        2SG   China-ATTR   food

        *qe-**guan**-gu-lio*   *ze-li=mu*
        eat-**get used**-COMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF=INTERR
        'Have you get used to eating Chinese food?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(286)   *ni*   *huaiqa*   *kan-**man**-lio*   *gu-la*
        2SG   book   read-**get finished**-PFV   after

        nga-ha   *qen-qui-la*   *ka*
        1SG.OBL-OD   give-get an outcome-COND   give
        'After you have read the book, give it back to me.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complement *je*, 'to touch' (SM *zháo* 着, 'to touch') is used with motion verbs to specify the outcome of a motion:

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(287)   *ngu*   *reben-de*   *ren-ha*   *qong-**je**-lio*
          1SG   Japan-ATTR   person-OD   run into-**touch**-PFV
          'I met a Japanese person.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complement *jhan*, to see' (SM *jiàn* 见, 'to see') is used with perception verbs like *kan*, 'to look, to watch' and *tin*, 'to listen'. It specifies the outcome of the speaker's perception:

(288)   *ngu-jhege-de*   *kada*   *gu-jhege*
          1-PAUC-ATTR   conversation   3-PAUC

          *tin-**jhan**-gu-lio*   *ze-li*
          listen-**see**-COMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
          'Our conversation got overhead by them.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complements *pe*, 'to get broken' (SM *pò* 破, 'to get broken') and *qai*, 'to get broken' (AT *qai*, 'to get broken') are common with e.g. the verb *da* 'to hit'. The two complement verbs have no obvious semantic differences. They indicate the outcome of the event 'hit' and stress the complete affectedness of the Patient:

(289)   *ngu*   *gu*   *chabi*   *da-**pe**-lio*
          1SG   that   teacup   hit-**get broken**-PFV
          'I broke that teacup (for purpose).' (Cairangji)

(290)   *ngu-jhege-de*   *ggolo*   *zha-**pe**-gu-ma*
          1SG-PAUC-ATTR   wheel   explode-**get broken**-COMPL-COORD
          'Our wheel burst…' (Blind Grandmother）

(291)   *ngu-de*   *la*   *da-**qai**-lio*
          1SG-ATTR   foot   hit-**get broken**-PFV
          'My foot got broken.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complement *lai*, 'to get into contact' (origin unknown) is used e.g. with verbs of giving. In (292) it is used as an independent verb in a clause chain and in (293) as a complement verb in a verb-complement construction:

(292) ngu   nia   cha   tai-ma   lai
      1SG   2SG.OBL   tea   take-COORD   **get into contact**
      'I will bring you some tea.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(293) moncok-ha   lhoso   to-**lai**-lio
      masses-OD   education   receive-**get into contact**-PFV
      'The masses have received education.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The verb *se*, 'to die' (SM *sǐ* 死, 'to die') is used both as a regular verb and as an aspect complement. When used as an aspect complement, it specifies that the activity expressed by the main verb leads to the death of a participant in the event, and it therefore stresses the Patient affectedness:

(294) haba-ha   qhichai   nia-**se**-gu-lio   ze-li
      dog-OD   car   press-**die**-COMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
      'The dog was crushed to dead by the car.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Many complement verbs have their origins in motion verbs, but due to grammaticalization they have lost part of their original semantic meaning and rather add the main verb the more abstract aspectual meaning of completion (e.g. the complement *do* 'to arrive' > 'to get done'). However, some complements derived from motion verbs can still be occasionally used in their original meaning to indicate direction (e.g. complements *qhi*, 'to go', *lai*, 'to come' and *qui*, 'to exit').

The complement *do*, 'to get done' (SM *dào* 到, 'to arrive') has lost most of its original semantic meaning as a motion verb. Its primary meaning is to indicate the completion of an event:

(295) a-menzai   qhi-**do**-li   ngu   nia
      how   ride-**get done**-SEN.INF   1SG   2SG

      yi-ge   jho
      one-REF   teach
      'Let me teach you how to ride a bike.' (Bike)

(296)   *nia*   *da*   *jjhenzzhi*   *mi-li=wo*
         2SG.OBL   then   reason   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF=EMPH

         sho-ma   *adia-de*   *huai-li*   *xhui-**do**-lio-de*
         QUOT-RES   monk-ATTR arms-LOC   sleep-**get done**-PFV-NMLZ
         'You certainly have no reason to behave like that', (the zombie) said and fell
         asleep in the monk's arms.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The complements *kai*, 'to start' (SM *kāi* 开, 'to expand') and *qhe*, 'to start' (SM *qǐ* 起, 'to rise') are both derived from motion verbs, but in Wutun they indicate the initiation of an event or state:

(297)   *qhojhang*   *ayi*   *haipa*   *kuu-**kai**-lio*
         PN   woman   fear   cry-**start**-PFV

         ze-li
         EXEC-SEN.INF
         'The lady called Qhojhang was afraid and started crying.' (Cairangji)

(298)   *zhawa*   *ma-ge*   *tin-**qhe**-lio-de*   *re*
         disciple   something get ill-**start**-PFV-NMLZ   FACT
         'The disciple started to feel somewhat ill.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(299)   *tianqhe*   *rai-**qhe**-lio*
         weather   (be) hot-**start**-PFV
         'The weather started getting hot.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complements *qhi*, 'to go' (SM *qù* 去, 'to go') and *lai*, 'to come' (SM *lái* 来, to come') still retain much of their original meaning as motion verbs. They are often used together with other motion verbs to specify the direction and completion of motion:

(300)   *da*   *menzai*   *tek*   *san-ge*
         then   like that   head   three-REF

         ke-gu-ma   *adia*   *shang-**qhi**-gu-lio*
         kowtow-COMPL-COORD monk   rise-**go**-COMPL-PFV

         adia   *shang-**qhi**-gu-di-da*
         monk   rise-**go**-COMPL-PROGR-CONSEQ

         zhawa   *rolang*   *qhe-**lai**-gu-ma*
         disciple   zombie   rise-**come**-COMPL-COORD
         'Then the monk kowtowed three times and went up further (towards Tibet). When the monk arrived in Tibet, the disciple rose up as a zombie…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The complement *lai* can also be used in a more abstract meaning to indicate a change of a state:

(301)　　*nga-mu*　　*yidaze*　　*zhungo*　　*bozhe*　　*kan-lai-li*
　　　　　1-COLL　　all　　　　China　　　newspaper　look-**come**-SEN.INF
　　　　　'All of us have learned how to read Chinese newspapers.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The complement *qui*, 'to get an outcome, to exit' (SM *chū* 出, 'to exit') derives from a motion verb 'to exit'. In Wutun, it can be used both as a directional complement 'to exit' (as in 302) and as a more abstract completive aspect complement 'to get an outcome' (as in 303):

(302)　　*zhuang-qui-gu-ma-li*
　　　　　come out-**exit**-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
　　　　　'(The ears of wheat) have come out (by now).' (Conversation 1_School)

(303)　　*sonan*　　　*gu*　　　*yegai-ge*　　　*xai-qui-lio*
　　　　　PN　　　　　that　　　letter-REF　　　write-**get an outcome**-PFV

　　　　　ze-li
　　　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　　　'Sonan has written that letter.' (Cairangji)

Complement *ze* (SM *zuò* 做, 'to do') has a very vague semantic meaning and it mainly adds the aspectual meaning of completion to the main verb:

(304)　　*cui*　　　*to-ze-gu-lio*　　　　　*ze-li*
　　　　　thief　　　escape-**do**-COMPL-PFV　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　　　'The thief escaped.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Complement verbs can also have an additional modal meaning (ability or possibility) reflecting the speaker's attitude to the realization of an event. Complements *qhe*, 'to be able to' (SM *qǐ* 起, 'to rise') and *qen*, 'to manage' (SM *chéng* 成, to become') add both aspectual and modal meaning to the main verb. They indicate the completion of an event with the additional notion of potentiality:

(305)　　*nga-mu*　　*gu*　　　*qhichai*　　*mai-she-qhe-li*
　　　　　1-COLL　　that　　　car　　　　buy-RES.AO-**be able**-SEN.INF
　　　　　'We became able to buy that car.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(306) *ayoxe*   *da*   *hua-ma*
      INTJ   now   tired-COORD

      ma-la-li   *qhe-lai-be-**qen**-li*
      (be) impossible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF   get up-NEG-**manage**-SEN.INF
      'Phew! I'm so tired I can't get up.' (Cairangji)

Complement verbs can be negated. When the complement verb is negated, the negative morpheme is placed as an infix between the main verb and the complement verb. The negative morpheme preceding the complement verb negates the result of an action, and not the action itself:

(307) *ngu*   *gu-de*   *xhinqe*   *tin-**be-jhan**-li*
      1SG   3SG-ATTR   voice   listen-**NEG-see**-SEN.INF
      'I can't hear his/her voice (lit. I listen but I cannot hear it).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

4.8.2 Modal complements

Modal complements constitute a group of partly grammaticalized verbs whose primary meaning is to express deontic modality. They add the meaning of ability, necessity or possibility to the main verb, reflecting the speaker's attitude to the realization of the event. Wutun modal complements are summarized by Table 13.

Table 13. *Modal complements*

dio, 'must'
hai, 'to know how'
kek, 'to be able to'
ddo, 'to want'
wa-la, 'to be possible'
ma-la, 'to be impossible'

While all modal complements express deontic modality, the syntactic constructions in which they can occur vary. Modal complements occur either as suffixes after the main verb (as in 308) or in clause chains (as in 309):

(308) *gu*   *menzo*   *do-tala*   *wanlan-**dio**-yek*
       3SG   tomorrow   arrive-TERM   do-**must**-EGO
       'S/he must work until tomorrow.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(309) *adia*   *ni*   *zang*   *jja-la-gu-da*
       monk   2SG   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-COMPL-CONSEQ

       ***wa-la**-li*   *sho-ma*
       be possible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF   QUOT-RES
       'Monk, for you it will be possible to go to Tibet (lit. when you visit Tibet, it will be possible), (the lama) said…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In (308) the modal complement *-dio*, 'must' occurs as suffix right after the main verb *wanlan*, 'to do' without any intervening morphology, while in (309) the modal complement verb *wa-la*, 'to be possible' occurs in a clause chain. The main verb *jja*, 'to visit' is marked with the consequential non-final suffix *-da* expressing the logical and temporal relationship between the two verbs, and the modal complement *wa-la* functions as an independent verb that takes the evidential marker *-li* (clause-chaining constructions are discussed in detail in Section 10.1). While some modal complements (notably *dio*, 'must' and *hai*, 'to know how') occur directly after the main verb, some of the modal complements (notably *kek*, 'to be able to', *wa-la*, 'to be possible' *ma-la* 'to be impossible' and *ddo*, 'to want') always occur in clause-chains.

The complement *dio*, 'must' (SM nominalizer *de* 的 + modal verb *yào* 要, 'want') indicates obligation or necessity of an event. It is used as a complement verb directly attached to the main verb:

(310) *gu*   *menzo*   *do-tala*   *wanlan-**dio**-yek*
       3SG   tomorrow   arrive-TERM   do-**must**-EGO
       'S/he must work until tomorrow.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(311) *dangma*   *zang*   *jja-la*   *qhi-la*
       long ago   Tibet   visit-COND   go-COND

       xhen-ma   *qhi-**dio**-li*
       walk-COORD   go-**must**-SEN.INF
       'A long time ago, if you went to Tibet, you had to go on foot.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Complement *hai*, 'to know how' (SM *huì* 会, 'can, to know how') expresses the speaker's ability to perform an action. It is used as a complement verb directly attached to the main verb:

(312) *da*   *ngu*   *taima*   *qhi-**hai**-gu-lio*
       now   1SG   bike   ride-**can**-COMPL-PFV
       'Now I know how to ride a bike!' (Bike)

(313) *nga-mu*   *yidaze*   *zhungo*   *bozhe*   *kan-**hai**-yek*
       1-COLL   all   China   newspaper   read-**can**-EGO
       'We all know how to read Chinese newspapers.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Complement *kek*, 'to be able to' (SM *kěyi* 可以, 'can, to be able to') indicates the possibility of an event. It is used as a chain-final verb in clause chains:

(314) *nga-mu*   *qhichai*   *mai-la*   *be-**kek**-yek*
       1SG-COLL   car   buy-COND   NEG-**be able**-EGO
       'We are not able to buy a car.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(315) *en*   *adia*   *ni*   *qhi-da*
       INTJ   monk   2SG   go-CONSEQ

       ***kek**-li*
       be able-SEN.INF
       'Ah, monk, you will be able to go (to Lhasa).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Complement *wa-la*, '(to be) possible' (SM *fǎ* 法, 'way, means' + incompletive aspect marker *-la*, 'have means') denotes the possibility of an event. It is always used as a chain-final modal verb in clause chains together with one of the four non-final clause markers indicating logical or temporal relationship between the final and non-final clause (see Section 4.10.1). In (316) *wa-la* is used together with the consequential marker *-da* to express the

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expected consequences of the activity *jja*, 'to visit' (if you visit Tibet, there will be no problem):

(316)   *adia*   *ni*   *zang*   *jja-la-gu-da*
          monk   2SG   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-COMPL-CONSEQ

          wa-la*-*li   *sho-ma*
          be possible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF   QUOT-RES
          'Monk, for you it will be possible to go to Tibet, (the lama) said…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The negative counterpart of *wa-la* is *ma-la* (EXIST.NEG *mi* + *wa-la*, 'have no means'). Like *wa-la*, it is always used as a chain-final verb together with one of the non-final clause markers. In (317) and (318), *ma-la* is used together with the coordinate marker *-ma* to indicate that the situation expressed by the non-final verb (*huanlan*, 'to be noisy in 317 and *tin*, 'to hurt' in 318) is unbearable to the speaker:

(317)   *ngu-de*   *she-li*   *huanlan-ma*
          1SG-ATTR   house-LOC   (to be) noisy-COORD

          ma-la*-*li
          be impossible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF

          nga   *be-xhui-ge-li*
          1SG.OBL   NEG-sleep-CAUS-SEN.INF
          'It is too noisy in my home, I can't sleep.' (Cairangji)

(318)   *menzai*   *yi-ge*   *sho-de*   *shaida*
          like that   one-REF   say-ATTR   time

          nga   *xaige*   *kunman-ma-li*
          1SG.OBL   very   tired-RES.PO-SEN.INF

          ngu-de   *jho*   *ya*   *tin-ma*
          1SG-ATTR   foot   also   hurt-COORD

          ma-la*-*li
          be impossible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
          'As I was saying that, I was very tired and my feet were killing me.' (Picnic)

The complement *ddo*, 'to want' (AT *ddo*, 'to think, to want') is used both as an independent verb 'to think' (as in 319) and as a modal complement verb 'to want' (as in 320):

(319) *ngu*   *ra*   *menzai*   ***ddo**-la-li*
      1SG   also   like that   **think**-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
      'I agree with you.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(320) *ngu*   *sama*   *qe-la*   *be-**ddo**-la-li*
      1SG   food   eat-COND   NEG-**want**-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
      'I don't want to eat.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)'

As illustrated in this section, all the modal complements express deontic modality. Epistemic modality in Wutun is indicated primarily by evidential markers (see Chapter 7) and clause-final modal particles (see Section 5.3.3). While modal complements form a coherent group on the basis of their semantic meaning, their position with regard to the verb varies. Some of the modal complements occur as suffixes directly attached to the verb like aspect complements (see Section 4.8.1), while some of the modal complements are used as final verbs in clause chains.

4.9 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are a partly grammaticalized subclass of verbs that are used as modifiers of the main verb to form a verb phrase. Auxiliaries function as independent constituents in the clause and can carry some inflectional information (such as evidential marking) typically expressed by the verbs. However, unlike regular verbs, auxiliaries cannot have arguments of their own, but they always share their arguments with the main verb, and they do not take all the verbal markers that can be attached to the regular verbs. In a verb-auxiliary construction, complement verbs and aspect markers are attached to the main verb, while auxiliaries take evidential, interrogative and imperative markers. The main verb in the verb-auxiliary construction often requires nominalization with the nominalizer *-de*.

The order of elements in a verb-auxiliary construction is summarized by Figure 3:

Figure 3. *Auxiliary verb construction*

(Neg) V   (Comp)   (Asp)   (Nmlz)   Aux   (Evid)   {Interr}
                                                                {Imp}

Where Neg= negative prefix, V= main verb, Comp= complement verb, Asp= aspect marker, Nmlz= nominalizer, Aux= auxiliary, Evid= evidential marker, Interr= interrogative marker, Imp= imperative marker

Example (321) illustrates a verb-auxiliary construction:

(321)   *gu*   *nga-ha*   *yenyek*
        3SG   1SG.OBL-OD   English

        *jho-di-**de***   ***re***
        teach-PROGR-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
        'S/he is teaching me English (as is generally known).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (321) the verb *jho*, 'to teach' is the main verb and the verb *re* is the auxiliary. The main verb takes the progressive aspect marker -*di* and the nominalizer -*de* connects the auxiliary *re* to the main verb. The auxiliary *re* has an evidential meaning, and it marks the event as a generally known fact

The semantic profile of auxiliaries is very diverse and they express various aspectual, modal and evidential meanings. Copula verbs in Wutun share most of their distributional and morphological properties with auxiliaries, and in addition to connecting nominal arguments, they can have an additional aspectual, modal or evidential meaning, so they are treated here as a subclass of auxiliaries. Aspectual, modal and evidential auxiliaries are discussed in Section 4.9.1 and copula verbs in Section 4.9.2.

4.9.1 Aspectual, modal and evidential auxiliaries

Wutun has six auxiliaries whose primary function is to express aspectual, modal or evidential meanings. All of the Wutun auxiliaries have their origins in Mandarin Chinese verbs, except *re*, which is borrowed from Amdo Tibetan. Wutun aspectual, modal and evidential auxiliaries are summarized by Table 14.

Table 14. *Aspectual, modal and evidential auxiliaries*

re	FACT	factual auxiliary
co	DUR	durative auxiliary
yo	NEC	necessitative auxiliary
hong	VOL	voluntative auxiliary
sho	REP	reported auxiliary
ze	EXEC	executive auxiliary, is used to connect sensory- inferential evidential marker *-li* to the perfective aspect marker *-lio*

The factual auxiliary *re* (AT factual copula verb *re)* is used to express generally known facts that all the participants in the conversation are expected to know:

(322) *gu* *selang-ha* *lhojjhong-qhi-de* ***re***
       3SG Xining-OD   study-go-NMLZ   **FACT**
       'S/he will go to Xining for a study (as we all know).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

This auxiliary has an inherently evidential meaning and it is part of the egophoric marking system together with ego evidentials and sensory-inferential evidentials (see Section 4.4.1 and 7.1.1). Therefore, it is never combined with ego evidential *-yek* or sensory-inferential evidential *-li*.

Durative auxiliary *co* (SM *zuò* 坐, 'to sit') has an aspectual meaning. It is used to express continuous action:

(323) *waixi* *waixi* *ngu-de* *qenca* *lai-de*
       night   night   1SG-ATTR near   come-NMLZ

       co*-li*
       DUR-SEN.INF
       '(The zombie) kept on following me in the nighttime…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Necessitative auxiliary *yo*, 'must' (SM *yào* 要, 'must') has a deontic meaning. It indicates obligation, or necessity of an action:

(324)   *dong*   *wu-ge-ra*
        thousand   five-REF-ABL

        wu   *bai*   *jhenze*   *qan*   *ka-de*
        five   hundred   gold   money   give-NMLZ

        yo   *ye*
        NEC   EMPH
        'Of five thousand (yuan), you have to give five hundred (as a payment) for gold
        (which is used in decorating thangkas).' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking
        and Car)

Voluntative auxiliary *hong*, 'to let, to be willing' (SM *fang* 放, 'to let') indicates jussive
modality, or speaker's volitionality. The verb *hong* can be used both as an auxiliary (as in
325), and as a regular verb that occurs in a non-final verb construction (as in 326):

(325)   *nga-ha*   *sho-de*   ***hong***
        1SG.OBL-OD   say-NMLZ   **VOL**
        '(Please) tell me!' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(326)   *gu*   *nainai-de*   *quandi*   *ddaiga-li*
        3SG   grandmother-ATTR   clothes   skirt-LOC

        qai-she-ma   *be-**hong**-li*
        hold-RES.AO-COORD   NEG-**VOL**-SEN.INF
        'S/he was holding grandmother's skirt without letting go.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Reported auxiliary *sho* (SM *shuō* 说, 'to say, to speak') is used to indicate information
based on someone else's report, either with or without exact reference to the quoted person.
The reported auxiliary *sho* is used in combination with ego, sensory-evidential or factual
evidential (see also Sections 4.4.2 and 7.1.2). When ego, sensory-inferential or factual
evidentials are used together with the reported evidential, the sentence represents multiple
perspectives to the information source. In (327), reported evidential represents information
source of the person uttering the example, while the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*
indicates information source of the person who originally reported the information.

(327)   *gu*   *she*   *zha-gu-lio*   ***ze-li***
        3SG   house   explode-COMPL-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**

        sho-li
        REP-SEN.INF
        'That house exploded, they say (I heard it from other people who saw it).'
        (Cairangji)

When used as a reported auxiliary, *sho* takes the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*, yielding the form *sho-li*, 'they say' (as in 327). Sometimes the progressive marker *-di* is added, yielding the form *sho-di-li* (as in 328). The two alternative forms do not have any obvious semantic differences:

(328) *lai-zhe* **sho-di-li**
come-PROSP **REP-PROGR-SEN.INF**

lek-yai-li *lai-zhe* **sho-di-li**
six-month-LOC come-PROSP **REP-PROGR-SEN.INF**
'He will come (back from Lhasa), they say. He will come back in June, they say.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The executive auxiliary[7] *ze* (SM *zuò* 做, 'to do') is rather void of any semantic meaning. Its main function is to connect the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* to the perfective aspect marker *-lio*, which cannot take evidential marking itself (see also Section 7.1.3):

(329) *ren* *yidaze* *lai-gu-lio* **ze-li**
person all come-COMPL-PFV **EXEC-SEN.INF**
'All the people have arrived.'

It is possible to use two auxiliaries together to express various perspectives reflecting the speaker's attitude to the realization of the event. When used together, auxiliaries are connected with the preceding verb by the nominalizer *-de*:

(330) *gu* *a-menzai* *wanlan-de* **yo-de** **re**
that how do-NMLZ **NEC-NMLZ** **FACT**
'How do you make that (a pearl thangka, I guess you must know)?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

4.9.2 Copula verbs

Copula verbs are a group of auxiliary-like verbs that can be used either as copulas to connect two nominal arguments, or in verb-auxiliary constructions to express aspectual or deontic meanings. Wutun copula verbs are summarized by Table 15.

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[7] This auxiliary is labelled as 'executive' because it is based on Mandarin Chinese verb 'to do'.

Table 15. *Copula verbs*

hai	EQU	equative copula
bai	EQU.NEG	negative equative copula
yek	EXIST	existential copula
mi	EXIST.NEG	negative existential copula

The equative copula *hai* 'to be' (SM *shì* 是*,* 'to be') and the existential copula *yek*, 'to have, there is' (SM *yǒu* 有, 'there is') both have negative counterparts *bai*, 'not to be' < *be-hai* (SM *bú shì* 不是, 'not to be') and *mi*, 'to not have, there is not' (SM *méi yǒu* 没有, 'there is not'). The copula system is partly connected with egophoric marking (see Sections 4.4.1 and 7.1.1.1). The auxiliary *yek* expresses both existential predication and the speaker's involvement in the event (ego evidentiality), and it is most probably the diachronic source of the more grammaticalized ego evidential suffix *-yek*.

The equative copula *hai* indicates nominal predication (as in 331), predicate adjectives (as in 332) or predicate possession when the possessed entity is topical (as in 333):

(331)   *daijhang   da   zowo   **hai**-li*
        safety   then   main thing   **EQU**-SEN.INF
        '…safety is the most important thing.' (Bike)

(332)   *shetek   bin~bin-de   **hai**-li*
        rock   cold~cold-NMLZ   EQU-SEN.INF
        'The rock is cold.' (Cairangji)

(333)   *je   ngu-de   huaiqa   **hai**-yek*
        this   1SG-ATTR   book   **EQU**-EGO
        'As for this, it is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The equative copula *hai* has a negative counterpart *bai*:

(334)   *gu   ggaiggan   **bai**-li*
        3SG   teacher   **EQU.NEG**-SEN.INF
        'S/he is not a teacher.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The existential copula *yek* expresses existential or locative predication (as in 335), or predicate possession when the possessor is topical (as in 336). When used alone without any

overt evidential marking (as in 336), it has a default meaning of ego evidentiality (speaker's volitional involvement in event or state):

(335)   *xaitang-de*   *wu-ra*   *ayi-ge*   **yek**-*li=mu*
           school-ATTR DIST-ABL   woman-REF **EXIST**-SEN.INF=INTERR
           'Did you know that there was a woman near the school?'
           (Conversation 1_School)

(336)   *nga*   *yoshe*   **yek**
           1SG.OBL   keys   **EXIST**
           'As for me, I have the keys.' (Cairangji)

The negative counterpart of the existential copula *yek* is *mi*:

(337)   *ana-ha*   *xawa*   **mi**-*yek*
           mother-OD   work   **EXIST.NEG**-EGO
           'My mother has no job.'(Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

The ability to function as independent predicates distinguishes copula verbs from other auxiliaries that can only be used in combination with the main verb. However, copula verbs can also be used as auxiliaries with the main verb to express aspectual or deontic meanings. Both the equative copulas *hai* and *bai* and the existential copulas *yek* and *mi* can be used together with the nominalized main verb to express progressive or habitual action:

(338)   *nga-n-de*   *aba*   *chuang*   *she*   *ra*
           1-COLL-ATTR   father   bed   on   even

           za-de   **yek**
           smoke-NMLZ   **EXIST**
           'Our father even smokes in the bed.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(339)   *xenqin*   *be-xho-de*   *shai*   *ra*
           mood   NEG-good-ATTR   time   if

           za-di-de   **bai**-*li*
           smoke-PROGR-NMLZ   **NEG.EQU**-SEN.INF
           '…when I am not in a good mood, I don't smoke.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The periphrastic progressive construction -*de yek* has given rise to the actual progressive aspect marker -*di* (see Section 6.2.2). The construction -*de yek* without evidential markers also indicates ego evidentiality (as in 338).

When used as auxiliaries, copulas can also express deontic meanings. Copula construction gives the sentence a necessive (as in 340) or voluntative (as in 341) meaning:

(340)   *ngu*   *lhasa*   *qhi-de*   ***hai**-yek*
          1SG   Lhasa   go-NMLZ   EQU-EGO
          'I will (have to) go to Lhasa.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(341)   *gu*   *ngu-jhege-de*   *yida*   *qhi-de*   ***yek***
          3SG   1-PAUC-ATTR   together   go-NMLZ   EXIST
          'S/he agrees to go together with us.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

4.10 Non-final clause markers

Wutun is a clause-chaining language. The example (342) illustrates a clause chain:

(342)   *gu*   *zek*   *xhe-**ma***
          3SG   alcohol   drink-**COORD**

          dianshe   *kan-di-li*
          television   watch-PROGR-SEN.INF
          'S/he is drinking alcohol and watching television (at the same time).'
          (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In clause chains, the final clause is preceded by one or more non-final clauses. The verb in a final clause is fully inflected for all the grammatical categories that a finite verb in Wutun requires, including aspect, evidentiality and mood. Verbs in non-final clauses, on the other hand, are not fully inflected for all the grammatical categories that finiteness requires. They may take various degrees of aspect specifications, but they are not inflected for evidentiality and mood. Therefore, verbs in non-final clauses must always have a syntactic relationship with the verb in a final clause so that the values for their unspecified grammatical categories can be specified. They are marked by one of the non-final suffixes expressing logical, temporal or modal relationship between final and non-final predicates. In (342) the verb *xhe*, 'to drink' is the non-final verb, while the verb *kan*, 'to watch' is the final verb. The non-final

verb *xhe* is marked by the coordinative marker *-ma* that in (342) indicates sequential relationship between the events expressed by the two verbs, while the final verb *kan* is fully inflected for aspect and evidentiality.

Wutun has four non-final suffixes indicating logical or temporal relationship between the clauses in a clause-chain (Section 4.10.1). In addition, there is distinct marker that expresses either manner or extent relationship (Section 4.10.2). This section gives a brief introduction to the non-final suffixes; clause chaining and non-final clauses are discussed in detail in Section 10.2.

4.10.1 Logical or temporal relationship

Non-final suffixes summarized in this section contain information on interclausal relationships, expressing the logical or temporal relationship between the interlinked clauses. The three most commonly used non-final suffixes in Wutun are coordinative *-ma*, (as in 343), conditional *-la ~ -ra* (as in 344) and consequential *-da* (as in 345):

(343)   *she-wu*   *tian*   *yidaze*   *menzai*   *co-ma*
           ten-five   day   inside   like that   stay-**COORD**

           she-li   *co-ma*
           home-LOC   stay-**COORD**

           qe-ma   *xhe-ma*
           eat-**COORD**   drink-**COORD**
           'During the fifteen days (when celebrating Losar), all (the people) stay at home and eat and drink… (Village Festivals)

(344)   *gu*   *lai-la*   *ngu*   *qhi-zhe*
           3SG   come-**COND** 1SG   go-PROSP
           'If s/he comes, I will go.' (Cairangji)

(345)   *nia-she-di-da*   *gu*
           press-RES.AO-PROGR-**CONSEQ**   that

           zhawa-de   *rolang*   *lai-lio*   *ze-li*
           disciple-ATTR   zombie   come-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
           'As (the monk) was pressing (the cord under his pillow), the zombie came. (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The less frequently used non-final suffix is terminative -*tala* borrowed from Bonan:

(346)   *dangma*   *zang*   *do-**tala***   *san-ge*
         a long time ago   Tibet   arrive-**TERM** three-REF

         yai-ma   *shewu*   *tian*   *yo-de*   *re*
         month-and   fifteen   day   NEC-NMLZ   FACT
         'In those days, you needed three months and fifteen days to go to Tibet.'
         (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Non-final suffixes and the examples (343-346) are discussed in more detail in Section 10.2.

4.10.2 Manner and extent marker -*de*

Manner and extent marker -*de* is a type of non-final suffix that expresses a modal relationship between the non-final verb and the final verb or adjective. The final verb functions as a complement of the non-final verb, expressing either a *manner* or an *extent* relationship between the two events. In (347) the final adjective *ho*, '(be) good' expresses the manner of the non-final verb *xai*, 'to write'. The example (348) describes that thinking (expressed by the verb *ddo* in non-final clause) is done to such an extent that the speaker is not able to eat (as expressed by the negative form of the final verb *qe-di mi-li*, eat-PROGR EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF, 'not to eat'):

(347)   *gu*   *xai-**de***   *xaige*   *xho-li*
         3SG   write-**MAN.EXT**   very   good-SEN.INF
         'S/he writes very well (in my opinion).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(348)   *gu*   *ni*   *ddo-di-**de***   *gu-dera*
         3SG   2SG   think-PROGR-**MAN.EXT**   DIST-PL

         qe-di   *mi-li*
         eat-PROGR   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
         'S/he thinks about you so much that it is impossible for him/her to eat any of those (dishes) (I think so). (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Although homonymous with the nominalizer *-de*, the manner and extent marker *-de* is an etymologically distinct element. While the nominalizer *-de* is based on the Early Modern Chinese light noun *di*, 'bottom', the manner and extent marker *-de* has developed from a modal verb and its synchronic use still involves the speaker's evaluation or attitude towards the denoted event (as in 347 and 348). In addition, clauses with the nominalizer *-de* are subordinate, while clauses with the manner and extent marker *-de* are cosubordinate. See Section 10.2 for a complete discussion of clauses with the manner and extent marker, as well as the examples (347) and (348).

4.11 Nominalization

Nominalization is a process of deriving nominal expressions from verbs, adjectives or clauses (Comrie and Thompson 1985: 349; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 5; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 3). Wutun has only one highly versatile nominalizer *-de* (Mandarin Chinese nominalizer *-de* 的) with multiple functions, including Agent and Patient nominalizations, complement clauses, adverbial subordinate clauses, relative clauses and independent nominalized clauses. Examples (349) and (350) illustrate nominalizations in Wutun:

(349) | *quan* | *qhi-de*[8] | *shai* | *gu* | *lu* | *she*
 | travel | go-**ATTR** | time | 3SG | road | on

jhan-de-dera   *hua-she-lio*   *ze-li*
see-**NMLZ**-PL   draw-RES.AO-PFV   SEN.INF
'When travelling, s/he drew down what s/he saw on the way.'
(Xiawu Dongzhou)

(350) | *nia* | *zang* | *jja-la-de* | *laighang*
 | 2SG.OBL | Tibet | visit-INCOMPL-**ATTR** | destiny

mi-li=mu
EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF=EMPH
'You do not have the destiny of visiting Tibet (lit. Tibet-visiting destiny).
(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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[8] One of the functions of the nominalizer *-de* is to mark nominal attribution, including relative clauses. In attributive constructions I will gloss *-de* as ATTR, 'attributive'.

Nominalization in Wutun functions on both lexical and clausal level. In the second line of (349) the scope of the nominalizer is one verb *jhan*, 'to see', while in (350) it is an entire clause *nia zang jja-la-de*, 2SG.OBL Tibet visit-INCOMPL-NMLZ, 'your visiting Tibet' (in 350 the nominalized clause functions as an attributive phrase that restricts the reference of the noun and is therefore glossed as ATTR, see Sections 3.8.2 and Section 10.2). In terms of morphology, nominalizations represent a mixture of both nominal and verbal features. Nominalizations can take nominal morphology, like number marking (as in 349), case marking and referential marking, but at the same time, they can retain aspect marking (as in 350). While the primary function of nominalization in world's languages is referential in nature (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 26), in Wutun the use of the nominalizer extends beyond its core function and there are also various non-referential uses of nominalization. With referential nominalization I mean derived nominal entities that function as arguments (such as Agents or Patients) in the clause, while with non-referential nominalizations I mean nominalized clauses that do not refer to entities and cannot function as arguments, such as relative clauses. Lexical and clausal uses of nominalization are summarized in Section 4.11.1 and the differences between referential and non-referential uses of nominalization are discussed in Section 4.11.2.

4.11.1 Lexical vs. clausal nominalization

Lexical nominalization takes the verb as its domain to derive lexical nouns or adjectives. Derived lexical nouns can be used as arguments of the verbs, they assume semantic roles like Agents or Patients and they can carry nominal inflectional morphology. In (351), the derived lexical noun *xai-de-ge*, 'the thing for writing' occurs as the Patient and takes the referential marker -*ge*:

(351)   *dojjai*   *lhojjok-de*   *xai-**de-ge***
        PN   classmate-ATTR   write-**NMLZ-REF**

        ce-lio
        borrow-PFV
        'Dojjai borrowed a classmate's pen (lit. a thing for writing).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Derived lexical nouns can also be used in existential predication (as in 352), and they can be topicalized (as in 353):

(352) *lu*　　　　　*she*　　　　*qhi-de*　　　*kuli*　　　*da*　　　　*lu*
　　　　road　　　　on　　　　　go-ATTR　　　while　　　then　　　road

　　　　wanlan-de　*yek-ma*
　　　　do-**NMLZ**　　EXIST-COORD
　　　　'When we were driving on the road, there were some construction workers (lit. road makers) there…' (Blind Grandmother)

(353) *en*　　　　　　*lhazzo-de*　　　　　　*bbakzzo-de*
　　　　as for it　　　paint thangkas-**NMLZ**　　paint masks-**NMLZ**

　　　　en　　　　　*da*　　　　*rek*　　　　　*mezzhawo*　　　　　*jhi-ge*
　　　　as for it　　then　　　profession　　different kind　　　several-REF

　　　　yek-li
　　　　EXIST-SEN.INF
　　　　'(There are) thangka painters and mask painters, there are different kinds of professionals (who make Buddhist art in our village).' (The Wutun Village)

The second type of lexical nominalization in Wutun is represented by derived adjectives (see also Sections 3.8.3 and 4.12). Adjectives can be nominalized to function as independent, post-nominal adjective attributes as opposed to verbs that can occur only in pre-nominal relative clauses when used as modifiers of a noun:

(354) *xawa*　　　　*ka-la~la-de-ge*
　　　　job　　　　　difficult-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-**NMLZ-REF**

　　　　hai-la　　　*ra*　　　*ngu*　　　*wanlan-yek*
　　　　EQU-COND　　if　　　1SG　　　do-EGO
　　　　'Even if the job is difficult, I shall do it.' (Cairangji)

In most of the verb-auxiliary constructions the main verb is nominalized (see Section 4.9.):

(355) *da*　　　　　*ni*　　　*qhi-de*　　　*yo-li*
　　　　now　　　　2SG　　　go-**NMLZ**　　NEC-SEN.INF
　　　　'You have to go now.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Clausal nominalization, on the other hand, takes the entire clause as its domain and allows the clause to be treated as a noun phrase. Wutun allows both embedded and non-

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embedded clausal nominalizations. Embedded clausal nominalizations are part of the argument structure of the superordinate clause. They include nominal complement clauses (as in 356), adverbial subordinate clauses (as in 357) and relative clauses (as in 358) (see Section 10.2 for a complete discussion of nominalization in clause combining):

(356) *jashe*   *qe-di-de-ge*   *ngu*   *ra*   *jhan-lio*
       PN   eat-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF**   1SG   also   see-PFV
       'I saw that Jashe was eating (Lit. Jashe's eating, I saw it).' (Cairangji)

(357) *zowo*   *da*   *qhihua*   *da*
       main thing   then   custom   then

       yidaze   *suan-de*   *jhosso*   *hai-de-liangge*
       everybody   Tibetan-ATTR   education   EQU-**NMLZ-SOC**

       suan   *yegai*   *zowo*   *ze-ma*
       Tibetan   language   main thing   do-COORD

       jjhang-la-ma
       study-INCOMPL-COORD
       'Because of the custom of all (the schoolchildren) getting Tibetan education, they take Tibetan as the main language of study…' (The Wutun Village)

(358) *je-ge-ha*
       this-REF-OD

       xijjek   *ze-di-de*   *ren*   *ra*   *zaige*
       research   do-PROGR-**ATTR**   person   also   quite

       do-li
       many-SEN.INF
       'As for this (our Wutun language), there are quite many people doing research on it.' (The Wutun Village)

Non-embedded clausal nominalizations stand alone as independent utterances to express mirativity and speaker stance. Example (359) is taken from a folktale narrative and it expresses the surprise and discontent of a character of the story, a lama, who has just discovered that a monk coming for a pilgrimage to Lhasa has brought a zombie with him:

(359) *gu*   *lama*   *a*   *a*   *da*
       that   lama   INTJ   INTJ   then

       mazang-de
       (be)very bad-**NMLZ**
       'The lama (said): 'Oh, oh, that is very bad!' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

More examples of non-embedded nominalizations as stance constructions are found in Section 7.4.3.

4.11.2 Referential vs. non-referential uses of nominalization

Because nominalization is a process of deriving nominal entities, the most common function of nominalization in world's languages is referential in nature (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 26). In Wutun, most of the lexical nominalizations (as in 360), as well as nominalized complement clauses (as in 361) are used referentially to refer to an entity (on referentiality in Wutun, see Section 3.4.):

(360) *da*   *niren-men*   *mu*   *hai-la*   *ra*
       then   woman-PL   TOP   EQU-COND   also

       *cek-**de-ge***   *ra*   *da*
       take-**NMLZ-REF**   also   then

       ha   *ra*   *cek-lio*   *ze-li*
       Chinese   also   take-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'Then, as for wives, as for marrying (lit. woman-taking), (our ancestors) took Chinese wives as well.' (The Wutun Village)

(361) *gu*   *qhi-di-**de-ge***   *ngu*   *sawo*
       3SG   go-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF**   1SG   clearly

       jedo-gu-lio
       know-COMPL-PFV
       'I know that he went away (lit. his going, I knew).' (Cairangji)

Referential nominalizations can be topicalized (as in 360) and they can function as arguments in the clause (as in 361). They are often marked by the referential marker *-ge*.

As in other Sino-Tibetan languages, in Wutun the use of nominalizer extends beyond its core function to mark adverbial subordinate clauses (as in 362, which is formally a relative clause), relative clauses (as in 363) and non-embedded independent clauses (as in 364):

(362) *gu*   *zho*   *sho-**de***   *jjhorai*   *xhen-di-li*
       3SG   music   say-**ATTR**   while   walk-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'S/he is walking while singing.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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(363) *gek*   *san~ge*   *yek-de*   *gu~gu*   *ren*
       dog   three-REF   EXIST-**ATTR** that~that   person

       ra   *jhan-ma-li*
       also   see-RES.PO-SEN.INF
       'I have also seen that person with three dogs.' (Cairangji)

(364) *marai*   *men-de*   *jjhenzzhi*   *mi-de*   *chaimai*
       why   like that   reason   EXIST.NEG-NMLZ   shameless

       dang-de
       act-**NMLZ**
       'Why are you acting so shamelessly?'(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

These constructions represent non-referential uses of nominalization, because they are not used to refer to an entity, and they cannot function as arguments in the clause. Adverbial subordinate clause *zho sho-de jjhorai*, music say-ATTR while, 'while singing' in (362) is used for framing and back grounding the main clause. Relative clause *gek san-ge yek-de*, dog three-REF EXIST-ATTR, 'one that has three dogs' in (363) is used for restricting the reference of the head noun *ren*, 'person'. Finally, the independent nominalized clause in (364) is used for expressing the speaker stance. The difference between referential and non-referential nominalizations can be expressed morphologically in Wutun. Only referential nominalizations can take the referential marker *-ge*, while non-referential nominalizations are never marked with *-ge*.

While in Standard Mandarin the nominalizer *-de* is widely used in lexical nominalizations, relative clauses and non-embedded independent clauses, the use of nominalizer in complement clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses in Wutun is quite atypical for a variety of Mandarin Chinese and is best explained by areal interference from Amdo Tibetan and Bonan. In Amdo Tibetan, for example, causal relation is expressed by combination of a nominalized verb and the ergative/instrumental case marker *-i ~ -gi* (Sandman and Simon 2016: 108), which resembles the Wutun construction *-de-liangge* illustrated in the example (357). The various uses of Wutun nominalizers also resemble the Mongolic participial *-x* (< *ku*) and they may have been influenced by Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund (Juha Janhunen, p.c.).

4.12 Adjectives

Like in other Sinitic languages, property words in Wutun are basically verbal words. They are used as predicates in the sentence, they can be negated, and they can be modified by manner adverbs (as in 365). They also carry inflectional information expressed by the verbs, such as aspect and evidential marking:

(365)   *ni-de*   *quandi*   *xaige*   **yak**-*la-li*
           2SG-ATTR   clothes   very   **beautiful**-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
           'Your clothes are very beautiful.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(366)   *je*   *nguiwo*   **gui**-*she-ma-li*
           this   thing   **expensive**-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
           'This thing has become more expensive.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(367)   *ma-ge*   *mi-**xho**-de*   *re*   *ya*
           what-REF   NEG-**good**-NMLZ   FACT   EMPH
           'It (the price of the thangka) is not very good.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

However, there are two distributional and morphological properties that distinguish the property words from other verbs and allow postulating a distinct word class of adjectives in Wutun. First, only adjectives can be modified by an adverbial suffix *-de* (SM *di* 地) to form adverbial forms of the adjectival verbs indicating manner:

(368)   *ni*   *taima*   *qhi-hua*
           2SG   bike   ride-way how to

           ngu   *nia*   *jho*
           1SG   2SG.OBL   teach

           ni   **xho~xho**-*de*   *kan*
           2SG   **good~good-ADV**   look
           'Let me teach you how to ride a bike, watch carefully!' (Bike)

Secondly, when used as attributes, adjectives have a unique morphosyntactic behavior when compared to verbs (see also Section 3.8.3). When adjectives occur as attributes of a noun, they can only occur in relative clauses preceding the head noun (relative clauses in Wutun are one type of *attributive phrases*, that is, nominalized phrases that are preposed as

modifiers of the head noun and are connected with the head noun with the nominalizer -*de*, see Section 3.8.) Attributive adjectives, on the other hand, can occur either in relative clauses preceding the head noun like verbs (as in 369), or as nominalized adjective attributes that follow the head noun (as in 370):

(369) *da*   *je*   *kan-la*
       then   this   look-COND

       yak-la-de   *ti*   *she-li*   *qhi-lai*
       beautiful-INCOMPL-ATTR   place   on-LOC   go-1.IMP
       'Let's go to a more beautiful place than this one!' (Picnic)

(370) *da*   *mende*   *ti*   *she*
       then   like that   place   on

       so-la~la-de-ge
       comfortable-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF
       '…this place is comfortable…' (Picnic)

When used as post-nominal adjective attributes, adjectives are often reduplicated and marked as referential with the referential marker -*ge*. In adjectives of Tibetan origin, the incompletive suffix -*la* has become part of the verb stem and is reduplicated when the adjective is used attributively (as in 369 and 370). Nominalized adjectives are also used in copula clauses to indicate nominal predication:

(371) *tianmi momo*   **tian~tian-de-ge**   *bai-li*
       kind of sweet bread   **sweet~sweet-NMLZ-REF**   EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
       'The bread is not very sweet.' (Cairangji)

Nominalized, referential adjective attributes are most probably based on relative clauses, where adjectival verb is the only element in the relative clause, resulting in a one-word phrase that expresses a property of a noun. This type of relative clauses can be easily interpreted as derived lexical adjectives (see Genetti 2011: 181-182). It seems that Wutun is in a process of developing derived adjectives as a unique, lexical class. The reanalysis of relative clauses as derived adjectives is likely to be a result of language contact with Amdo Tibetan, because in Tibetic languages adjectives are a unique lexical class with properties of both nouns and verbs, and they have been derived through nominalization. The word order of a noun and an adjective attribute is also likely to be due to Amdo Tibetan influence, because in Mandarin

Chinese adjective attributes precede the noun, while in Tibetic languages they can either precede or follow it[9].

Comparative degree of adjectives is expressed by a non-final verb construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra*, 'in view of, compared to', which is based on the Mandarin Chinese verb *kan* (SM *kàn* 看), 'to look, to watch' and the conditional marker *-la ~ -ra*. The *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction functions as a non-final clause, which is placed after the noun serving as the point of comparison. The adjectival predicate functions as the final clause:

(372)   *je-ge*   *jjhakai*   *zhungo*   ***kan-la***   *xaige*
         this-REF   country   China   **look-COND**   very

         ga-li
         small-SEN.INF
         'This country is much smaller than China.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The Wutun comparative construction has an exact parallel in Amdo Tibetan construction *hdi-na* (WT *bltas.na*), 'looking at, in view of, compared to', which is also based on the verb 'to look, to watch' (WT *lta*) and a conditional marker (WT *na*). In addition to its comparative function, the *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction has other functions as well (for example, it can be used as an evidentiality strategy that indicates the speaker's direct observation or inference). More examples on this construction can be found in Sections 7.4.2 and 10.1.1.2.2.

Superlative degree of adjectives is expressed by the superlative marker *zui* (SM *zuì* 最) placed before the adjective:

(373)   *da*   *ngu-jhege*   *jjekzhen*   *je-ge-li*
         then   1-PAUC   world   this-REF-LOC

         zui   *xho-de*   *ti*   *she-li*   *qhi-de*
         SUPER   good-ATTR   place   on-LOC   go-NMLZ
         'Then, we will go to the best place in this world…' (Picnic)

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[9] In Tibetic languages, adjective attributes can occur either before the noun, usually in a combination with the genitive case marker, or after the noun. The post-nominal position indicates neutral attribution, while the pre-nominal position is usually associated with restrictive usage. The same is true for Wutun, where pre-nominal adjective attributes usually indicate restrictive usage and post-nominal adjective attributes express neutral usage.

(374) *galamala-jhege*   ***zui***   *xho*
       child-PAUC   **SUPER**   good

       shu   *she*   *pa-ma*   *bai-wan-da*
       tree   on   climb-COORD   PROH-do-CONSEQ

       xho-li
       good-SEN.INF
       'It is best that children do not climb to trees.' (Tree)

To sum up, adjectives in Wutun resemble verbs in most of their morphosyntactic behavior. They can be used as predicates like verbs and they take aspect and evidential marking. However, unlike verbs, adjectives can take the adverbial suffix *-de* to form manner adverbs, and they can be used as attributes after the noun. Wutun adjectives represent a mixture of both Sinitic and Tibetan characteristics. They take all the verbal markers, they can be used to form manner adverbs, and they can occur in relative clauses before the noun as in Sinitic languages. The superlative construction of adjectives is also of Sinitic origin. However, the ability to occur as nominalized adjective attributes after the noun is a Tibetan feature and the comparative construction of adjectives is isomorphic with that of the Amdo Tibetan construction. The Tibetan features of Wutun adjectives suggest that the language has undergone an advanced syntactic change due to the areal interference from Amdo Tibetan.

4.1.3 Verbal quantifiers

Verbal quantifiers are a small closed class. Quantifiers in Wutun can be either nominal or verbal words. Nominal quantifiers resemble demonstrative pronouns in their distributional and morphological properties. They are discussed in Section 3.6.2. In addition to nominal quantifiers, Wutun has two main verbal quantifiers of Chinese origin, *do* (SM *duō* 多), 'many, much' and *sho* (SM *shǎo* 少), 'a few, a little':

(375) *gu-da*   *lhakang*   ***do***-*li=a*
       there   temple   **many**-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'Are there many temples there?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Verbal quantifiers are used as predicates, and they can make up a sentence with appropriate nominals. Verbal quantifiers are marked for evidentiality and they can be negated, but they do not take voice or aspect markers:

(376) *laixa*   *be-**do**-li*
       homework   NEG-**much**-SEN.INF
       'There is not much homework to do.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

5 Minor Word Classes

This chapter discusses word classes that lack shared semantic, morphological and distributional characteristics with nominal or verbal words; I will refer to them as minor word classes. The word classes discussed in this chapter are formally invariable so that they do not take nominal or verbal grammatical markers. Their distributional properties also differ from nouns and verbs so that they cannot be used as arguments or predicates. Wutun minor word classes can be divided into postpositions, adverbs, discourse connectors, interjections and particles. A main formal criterion for distinguishing these word classes from each other concerns their position in the clause.

Postpositions appear after the noun. Postpositional phrases in Wutun are often attributive phrases in which the postposition functions as the head and the noun occurs before the postposition as an attribute marked by the attributive marker -*de*. Adverbs are used as modifiers of word classes other than nouns, including verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. They can also modify entire clauses, phrases or sentences. Discourse connectors are used clause-initially to connect clause or sentence to what has been said before. Interjections occur either in a clause-initial position in their own intonation unit, or as one-word utterances. They express affirmative, negative or affective meanings. Finally, Wutun has final particles that occur in clause-final position to express various modal meanings, and the particles *ra* and *da*, 'now, and, but, also, then' that connect noun phrases, postpositional phrases and entire clauses to the preceding syntactic unit. Section 5.1 discusses postpositions. Adverbs are dealt with in Section 5.2 and discourse connectors, interjections and particles in Section 5.3.

5.1 Postpositions

Postpositions in Wutun fall into two large subclasses: non-spatial postpositions and spatial postpositions. The two classes differ in terms of their semantics and syntactic constructions in which they are used. Non-spatial postpositions are always used in combination with the attributive marker *-de* after a noun, a pronoun or a nominalized verb. The postposition (such as *co*, 'after' in 377) serves as the head of the postpositional phrase, while the noun functions as the attribute that precedes the postposition and takes an attributive marker:

(377) *wu-yai-dang-de*   *co*
       five-month-festival-**ATTR** **after**

       lek-yai-he   *yek-de*   *re*   *da*
       six-month-festival   EXIST-NMLZ FACT   then
       'After the May Festival, there is the Leru Festival.' (Village Festivals)

The most important non-spatial postpositions are listed in Table 16.

Table 16. *Non-spatial postpositions*

-de	shai	(at the time) when
-de	shaida	(at the time) when
-de	kuli	(at the time) when
-de	ggai	(at the time) when
-de	ggo	during
-de	jjhorai	while
-de	xenrada	after
-de	co	after
-de	hanqai	in addition to
-de	yida	together
-de	mula	among
-de	micai	besides

The postpositions -*de shai*, -*de shaida*, -*de kuli*, -*de ggai*, 'when', -*de ggo*, 'during' and -*de jjhorai*, 'while' are used in adverbial subordinate clauses to express the time of predication. Temporal adverbial subordinate clauses in Wutun are formally relative clauses, in which the postposition is the head. A relative clause is connected to the postposition by the attributive marker -*de*. Adverbial subordinate clauses are discussed in detail in Section 10.2.3.2; here are two examples:

(378)   *ngu*   *qhi-**de***   ***shaida***   *ngu-de*   *tuze*
           1SG   go-**ATTR**   **time**   1SG-ATTR   stomach

          xaige   *e-di-li*
          very   (be) hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF
          'Whenever I go out I am always hungry.' (Cairangji)

(379)   *waixi*   *do-**de***   ***kuli***
          evening   arrive-**ATTR** **time**

          da   *suanzzhai*   *mende-ge*   *da*
          then   spirit   like that-REF   then
          'When the evening came, there appeared something like a spirit, then…'
          (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Other commonly used postpositional expressions are -*de hanqai*, 'in addition to', -*de yida*, 'together', -*de mula*, 'among', -*de xenrada*, 'after', -*de co*, 'after' and -*de meicai*, 'besides':

(380)   *yegai-**de***   ***hanqai***   *lha*   *la*   *jho-di-li*
          letter-**ATTR** **in addition** deity   also   teach-PROGR-SEN.INF
          'In addition to writing, (painting) Buddhist deities is taught (at schools) as
          well.' (The Wutun Village)

(381)   *ngu*   *ni-**de***   ***yida***   *qhi-gu-qhi-de*   *re*
          1SG   2SG-**ATTR** **together** go-COMPL-be able-NMLZ   FACT
          'I can go together with you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(382) *nga-n-de*   **mula**   *ren*   *se-gu-la*
       1-COLL-**ATTR**   **among**   person   die-COMPL-COND

       diando   *rolang*   *qhe-lai-li*
       again   zombie   rise-come-SEN.INF
       'If someone dies among us, there will appear a zombie instead.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(383) *gu-de*   **xenrada**   *yidaze*
       that-**ATTR**   **after**   all

       wu-yai-dang   *go-she-di-de*   *re*
       five-month-festival   spend-RES.AO-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT
       'After that (the Losar), everybody spends the May Festival.' (Village Festivals)

(384) *nianha-de*   **co**
       blind eye-**ATTR**   **after**

       wu-yai-dang   *yek-li=mu*
       five-month-festival   EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'After the Losar, there is the May Festival.   (Village Festivals)

(385) *daijhang*   *zowo-de*   **micai**   *da*   *ni*
       safety   main thing-**ATTR**   **besides**   then   2SG

       taima   *gu*   *lu*   *she-la*
       bike   that   road   on-ABL
       'Besides the safety being the most important thing, if you (ride) on that road…'
       (Bike)

Wutun also has two complex postpositional expressions *di-men-cai*, 'in addition to' and *la-mun-na*, 'instead of' directly borrowed from Amdo Tibetan. They are used without the attributive marker *-de*:

(386) *jhang*   *menzai*   *qhichai*   *da*   *gu-dera*   *she*
       today   like that   car   and   that-PL   on

       qhi-la   *kuai-di*   **la-mun-na**
       go-COND   (be)fast-PROGR   **instead of**
       'Nowadays people go there by cars and other things like that quickly instead.'
       (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In addition to non-spatial postpositions, Wutun has a class of spatial postpositions that are used to express various locational meanings. The most important spatial postpositions are listed in Table 17.

Table 17. *Spatial postpositions*

qen	near
yan	far
she	on, on the surface
kali	up, on
tia	down
yok	under
limian	inside
qanmian	in front of
bimian	behind
baireli	middle
kema	side, towards
mian	side

Spatial postpositions differ from non-spatial postpositions in the sense that when they follow the noun, the noun does not have to be obligatorily marked by the attributive marker *-de*. Many spatial postpositions (such as *kali*, 'up, on', *qanmian*, 'in front of', *bimian*, 'behind', *baireli*, 'middle and *kema*, 'side, towards') can be used after the noun marked by *-de* (as in 387 and 388), or directly after the noun without *-de* (as in 389 and 390). There are no obvious differences in meaning between the postpositions with and without *-de*:

(387)   *shafa-**de**   **qanmian**   chaji-ge*
            sofa-**ATTR**   **in front of**   tea board-REF

            hong-she-ma-li
            put-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
            'There is a tea board put in front of the sofa.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(388)   *yanggan-**de**   **kali**   gejhai-na*
            lamp-post-**ATTR**   **up**   self-OBL

            dio-gua-she-lio   ze-li*
            lift up-hang-RES.AO-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
            'He was hanging on top of the lamp-post.' (Bike)

(389) *gejhai-na*   *hongze*   **kali**
self-OBL   house   **up**

dio-gua-she-lio   *ze-li*
lift up-hang-RES.AO-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
'He was hanging on the roof (lit. on top of the house).' (Bike)

(390) *ggaiggan*   *zhungo*   **kema**   *huaiqa-ge*   *dai-gu-lio*
teacher   China   **side**   book-REF   send-COMPL-PFV
'The teacher sent a book to China.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Sometimes the spatial postpositions are used independently without the attributive noun, as in (391):

(391) *ni*   **bimian**   *kan*
2SG   **behind**   look
'Watch behind!' (Bike)

The most frequently used spatial postposition in Wutun is *she*, 'on, on the surface of'. When *she* is used after the noun, the noun is never marked by that attributive marker -*de*. The postposition *she* also takes case marking (as in 393), so it represents mixed characteristics of both postpositions and nouns:

(392) *lhoma-jhege*   *jjhangdai*   **she**   *yegai*
student-PAUC   notebook   **on**   letter

xai-di-li
write-PROGR-SEN.IN
'Students are writing characters on the notebook.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(393) *men-ge*   *so*   **she-la**   *xan*   *yi-ge*
door-REF   lock   **on-ABL**   cord   one-REF

qe-ma   *lai-ma*
tie-COORD   come-COORD
'You have to tie a cord on the lock of your door...' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

It should be noted that some spatial expressions in Wutun are fixed postpositional phrases consisting of an attributive noun and a postposition. The most obvious examples are

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the expressions for 'on the right' and 'on the left', *jen-shek-de mian*, *jen-shek de kema*, 'right-hand-ATTR side' and *do-shek-de mian*, *do-shek de kema*, 'left-hand-ATTR side':

(394) *aba*   **jen-shek-de**   **kema**   *lai*
       father   **right-hand-ATTR**   **side**   come

       do-shek-de   *mian*   *qhichai-ge*   *lai-di-li*
       left-hand-ATTR   **side**   car-REF   come-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'The father was coming on the right side (of the road) and the car was coming on the left side (of the road).' (Bike)

To sum up, Wutun postpositions can be divided into non-spatial and spatial postpositions. When non-spatial postpositions follow the noun, the noun is obligatorily marked as an attributive phrase by the attributive marker *-de*. Postpositional phrases with a non-spatial postposition are most commonly used in adverbial subordinate clauses to indicate the time of predication. Spatial postpositions, on the other hand, can follow the noun directly without the intervening attributive marker *-de* and they can even be used independently without the attributive noun. In addition to spatial postpositions, spatial meanings (such as *on the right* and *on the left*) in Wutun can be expressed by fixed postpositional expressions consisting of a fixed combination of an attributive noun and a postposition.

5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Wutun include words that are formally invariable (that is, they do not take nominal or verbal grammatical markers), cannot be used as arguments or predicates and characteristically modify words other than nouns, including verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. They can also modify complete phrases, clauses or sentences. In terms of their semantics and position in the clause, adverbs can be divided into spatial adverbs (Section 5.2.1), temporal adverbs (Section 5.2.2), manner adverbs (Section 5.2.3), degree adverbs (Section 5.2.4) and focalizers (Section 5.2.5).

5.2.1 Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs are based on the same proximal and distal stems *je-*, 'this' and *gu-*, 'that' as demonstrative pronouns (see Section 3.5.5.2). Wutun has the proximal spatial adverb *je-da* (which also has a variant *je-daxi*), 'here' and distal spatial adverb *gu-da* (which also has a variant *gu-daxi*), 'there'. Spatial adverbs typically modify an entire clause or sentence (sentence adverbs):

(395)	**je-da**	jjhakai	xxanba-de	lhakang	do-li
	PROX-ADV	country	other-ATTR	temple	many-SEN.INF

'There are many foreign churches here.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(396)	**gu-da**	lhakang	do-li=a
	DIST-ADV	temple	many-SEN.INF=INTERR

'Are there many churches there?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(397)	**gu-daxi**	co-ma
	DIST-ADV	stay-COORD

	wu	*tian-na*	*co-ma-da*
	five	day-DISTR	stay-RES.PO-CONSEQ

'(People) stay there (in tents) for five days…' (Village Festivals)

Spatial adverbs *je-da* and *gu-da* are functionally equivalent to the locative demonstrative pronouns *je-li*, 'here' and *gu-li*, 'there' (see Section 3.5.5.2).

5.2.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs refer to time or frequency. The most common adverbs referring to non-specific time are listed in (398):

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(398)   *han*   'still, again, yet'

         diando   'again'

         dawo   'still'

         zai   'then'

         cancanma   'sometimes'

         zaimazai   'sometimes'

         dangma   'long ago'

         godangma   'before'

         wuzizi   'before'

         guire   'recently'

         dangga   'in the beginning'

         shongge   'usually'

         xhongna   'in general'

         jjhende   'often, usually'

         daxi   'finally'

These adverbs frequently occur clause-initially before the nominal arguments (as in 399 and 400), but they can also occur in a second position after the Agent (as in 401) or even after the Agent and the Patient (as in 402):

(399)   **dangma**   *zang*   *jja-la*   *qhi-la*
        long ago   Tibet   visit-COND   go-COND

        xhen-ma   *qhi-dio-li*
        walk-COORD   go-NEC-SEN.INF
        'A long time ago, if you visited Tibet, you had to go on foot.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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(400) **shongge**   *nga*   *ji-la-li*   *jhang*
      usually   1SG.OBL   happy-INCOMPL-SEN.INF   today

      nga   *be-ji-la-li*
      1SG.OBL   NEG-happy-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
      'Usually, I am happy but today I am not happy.' (Cairangji)

(401) *gu-jhege*   **jjhende**   *cai*   *qe-di-li*
      3-PAUC   **usually**   vegetable   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF
      'They usually eat vegetables.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(402) *ngu-jhege*   *shongwu*   **daxi**   *xhe-lai*   *sho-ma*
      1-PAUC   lunch   **finally**   drink-1.IMP   QUOT-RES
      '(I said) let us have some lunch, finally!'(Picnic)

The position of temporal adverbs in the clause is conditioned by information structure. In (399) and (400), the temporal adverb is the topic that sets the scene for the event expressed by the rest of the clause (e.g. as for the time long ago, you had to go on foot if you visited Tibet). In (401), on the other hand, the Agent is the topic and it precedes the temporal adverb. In (402), both Agent and Patient are more topical than the temporal adverb and therefore they precede it. While the primary strategy of marking a temporal adverb as topic is the clause-initial position and in most cases the topical temporal adverbs receive no morphological marking, sometimes they can be topicalized by using one of the actual topic markers (such as *hai-de-ra* in 403):

(403) **wuzizi**   **hai-de-ra**
      before   **EXIST-NMLZ-also**

      ddaiba-de   *ayi-jhege*   *sama*   *da*
      village-ATTR   woman-PAUC   food   and

      mende   *gugun-ra*
      like that   for example-also

      nianzhe   *guinian-de*   *mende*   *gu-duru*
      last year   the year before last-ATTR   like that   that-PL

      zaige   *gun-di-li*
      a little   cook-PROGR-SEN.INF
      'For a long time ago, the women in our village cooked traditional food.'
      (Traditional Food)

In (403) the speaker uses the topical temporal adverb to contrast the situation before to that of nowadays, and she puts a particularly strong emphasis on the topic *wuzizi*, 'before'. Example (403) could be interpreted as an example of iconicity, so that the topic that is contrastive and is considered particularly important receives 'heavier' morphological marking than it usually does. Topic marking in Wutun is discussed in detail in Section 8.3.

While temporal adverbs listed in (398) indicate a non-specific time or frequency, a specific time in Wutun can be expressed by nouns which function as temporal adverbials. A list of them is given in (404):

(404)   *jhang*   'today'

        jhang menzai   'nowadays'

        cu   'yesterday'

        menzo   'tomorrow'

        paire   'daytime'

        waixi   'night'

        caixi   'tonight, yesterday evening'

        tekre   'next day'

        nianzhe   'last year'

Nouns referring to specific time can occur in clause-initial position as modifiers of the entire clause before any nominal arguments (as in 405), or in a second position after the Agent (as in 406):

(405)   ***caixi***   *qhi-ma*   *ngu-de*   *hua*   *tin-zhe*
        tonight   go-COORD   1SG-ATTR   speech   listen-PROSP
        'Tonight you have to follow my advice…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(406)   *ni*   ***caixi***   *qhi-ma*   *xan-ge*   *qe-she*
        2SG   **tonight**   go-COORD   cord-REF   tie-RES.AO
        'Go and tie the cord tonight…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

As in the case of temporal adverbs referring to non-specific time, the position of nouns functioning as temporal adverbials depends on information structure. In (405) the noun *caixi*, 'tonight' is the topic and occurs in the first position, while in (406) the Agent is the topic and *caixi* occurs in the second position after the Agent.

The analysis of time expressions listed in (404) as nouns rather than adverbs is evident from the fact that they can take case inflection, while Wutun adverbs are invariable so that they do not take any nominal or verbal grammatical markers. For example, the adverbs *menzo*, 'tomorrow', *paire*, 'daytime', *waixi*, 'night' and *caixi*, 'tonight, yesterd evening' are frequently used with the ablative case marker *-la ~ -ra*. Consider:

(407) **jhang**   *yishong*   *qhi-gu*   *dai*
       today   certainly   go-COMPL   NEC
       'I must certainly go today.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(408) **menzo-la**   *nga*   *ra*   *kuanba*
       tomorrow-ABL   1SG.OBL   also   free time

       mi-yek
       EXIST.NEG-EGO
       'From tomorrow I will be busy.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(409) *ai*   **caixi**   *ngu*   *nia*
       INTJ   **yesterday evening**   1SG   2SG.OBL

       sho-lio-de
       say-PFV-ATTR

       gu   *xan*   *ni*   *getan-lio=mu*
       that   cord   2SG   cut-PFV=INTERR
       'Oh, yesterday evening, the cord I was talking about, did you cut it?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(410) **caixi-la**   *da*   *gu*   *be-lai-yek*
       tonight-ABL   then   3SG   NEG-come-EGO
       'From tonight, he (the zombie) will not come (anymore).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In summary, Wutun has both temporal adverbs referring to non-specific time or frequency and nouns functioning as temporal adverbials that refer to a specific time. They both usually appear in clause-initial position or in the second position after the Agent depending on whether they are topical or not. While temporal adverbs are formally invariable, nouns

functioning as temporal adverbials take case marking and they can therefore be distinguished from temporal adverbs on the basis of morphological criteria.

5.2.3 Adverbial forms of adjectival verbs

Adverbial forms of adjectical verbs are formed from the adjectives by the suffix *-de*. They modify verbs, and they occur immediately preceding the word they modify:

(411)   *gudaxilada*   *ngu*   ***tang-de***   *qhi-ma*   *shen-ge*
        after that   1SG   **quick-ADV**   go-COORD   rope-REF

        xhen-ma
        look for-COORD
        'Then I quickly went to find a rope…' (Bike)

When the adjective takes the adverbial suffix, it is often reduplicated:

(412)   *ni*   *taima*   *qhi-hua*   *ngu*   *nia*
        2SG   bike   ride-way how to   1SG   2SG.OBL

        jho   *ni*   ***xho~xho-de***   *kan*
        teach   2SG   **good~good-ADV**   look
        'Let me teach you how to ride a bike, watch carefully!' (Bike)

Adverbial forms of adjectival verbs indicate the manner of the activity expressed by the verb. The ability to take the suffix *-de* to form adverbials indicating manner is one of the main criteria that allow the adjectives to be postulated as a word class distinct from verbs. See Section 4.12 for further examples.

5.2.4 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs characteristically modify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs to indicate degree or epistemic likelihood. They are listed in (413):

(413)   *xaige*   'very'

         ze   'very'

         waige   'completely'

         yishong   'definitely'

         kodak   'really'

Like adverbial forms of adjectival verbs, degree adverbs immediately precede the word they modify:

(414)   modifying a verb*:*
         jhang   **yishong**   *qhi-gu*   *dai*
         today   **definitely** go-COMPL   NEC
         'I must definitely go today.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(415)   modifying an adjective:
         nga-ha   *zzonlada*   *gu*   *gu-duru*
         1SG.OBL-OD   for someone   that   that-PL

         xaige   *xang~xang-de-ge*   *hai-de*
         very   delicious~delicious-NMLZ-REF   EQU-NMLZ
         'I find those (traditional dishes of our village) very delicious.'
         (Traditional Food)

(416)   modifying an adverb:
         ze   *godangma*   *nianha*   *hai-de*   *ra*
         very   before   blind eye   EQU-NMLZ   also
         'The very first (festival in our village) is Losar.' (Village Festivals)

5.2.5 Focalizers

Finally, there is a class of focalizers expressing the meanings 'also' and 'only'. They are listed in (417):

(417)   *ki*   'also'

         yang   'also'

         yizai   'only'

The most commonly used focalizer is *ki*, 'also'. In my data, it often modifies another adverb (as in 418) or an entire clause (as in 419 and 420). When modifying an adverb *ki* follows it (as in 418), while modifying an entire clause *ki* precedes it (as in 419 and 420):

(418)   *adia*   *caixi*   **ki**   *xan*
         monk   tonight   **also**   cord

         qe-she-ma-li
         tie-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
         'Monk, you have tied a cord tonight also…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(419)   **ki**   *dangma*   *zang*   *jja-la-la*
         also   long ago   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-COND

         je   *ghangga*   *yek*   *mi-yek*
         this   destiny   EXIST   EXIST.NEG-EGO

         sho-di-de   *re*
         say-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT
         'Also, in those days, if you visited Tibet, you had to be told if it was your
         destiny.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(420)   *qe-she-di-da*   **ki**   *ni*   *getan*
         tie-RES.AO-PROGR-CONSEQ **also**   2SG   cut
         'After you have tied the cord, also (what you have to do is) to cut it.' (ELDP,
         corpus WT09_4)

In addition to the focalizers, Wutun has the particles *ra* and *da*, which can also express the meaning 'only'. However, the position of *ra* and *da* in the clause is more flexible than that of focalizers, so they are analyzed as particles rather than adverbs. While focalizers *ki*, *yang* and *yizai* characteristically modify other adverbs or entire clauses, *ra* and *da* can also modify noun phrases. They can also connect two noun phrases or clauses, which is not possible for focalizers and other adverbs. Particles *ra* and *da* are discussed in Section 5.3.4.

5.3 Discourse connectors, interjections and particles

This section discusses the rest of the minor word classes that are neither postpositions nor adverbs. Discourse connectors (Section 5.3.1) connect the clause or sentence to another. Interjections (Section 5.3.2) occur clause-initially in their own intonation group. They express various discourse-related meanings, such as affirmation, negation or the attitude of the speaker. Finally, Wutun has two types of particles (Section 5.3.3). Final particles (Section 5.3.3.1) are used clause finally to express epistemic or deontic modality. The particles *ra*, 'also, again, and, but, (not) even' and *da*, 'now, then, and, also then' (Section 5.3.3.2) modify syntactic units directly preceding them.

5.3.1 Discourse connectors

Discourse connectors are used clause-initially. Their core function is to start a narrative or connect clauses or sentences to another to maintain coherence in the text. The most commonly used discourse connectors are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18. *Discourse connectors*

oya	well, so, all right
gu-liangge	therefore
gangdaijhang	anyway
yilai	anyway
gubaiderada	otherwise
gudala ~ gudara	then, after that
gudalada ~ gudarada	then, after that
gudalahailida ~gudarahailida	then, after that
gudalayekdara ~ gudarayekdara	then, after that
gudahaiyekdara	then, after that
gudaxi	then, after that
gudaxilada ~ gudaxirada	then, after that

As illustrated by the table 18, there are at least twelve discourse connectors that appear to be derivations of the spatial adverb *gu-da*, 'there'. Although their morphological structure is rather transparent, they are void of any spatial meaning and they only connect the sentence to what has been said before. On the basis of my current data, I have not been able to find out any semantic differences between them.

The discourse connector *oya*, 'well, so, all right' is used in the beginning of the first sentence of a narrative to introduce a new topic to the discourse:

(421)   **oya**   *da*   *jidang-de*
             well   then   in general-ATTR

             nga-n-de   *je-ge*   *sanggaixong*   *sho-de*
             1-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   Wutun   say-ATTR

             je-ge   *en*   *da*   *ddaiba*   *hai-ra*
             this-REF   as for   then   village   EQU-COND

             menzai   *san-ge*   *hen-gu-ma-li*
             like this   three-REF   divide-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
             'Well, generally speaking, to say something about our Wutun village, it is
             divided into three parts. (The Wutun Village)

The discourse connectors *gu-liangge*, DIST-SOC, 'therefore' and *gangdaijhang*, 'anyway' connect the sentence to the preceding discourse. The example (422) illustrates their use in the text:

(422) *gejhai-mu-de*   *sanggaixong*
self-COLL-ATTR   Wutun

gejhai-mu-de   *rangxhen*   *da*   *qheqi*
self-COLL-ATTR   nature   and   characteristics

yek-de   *men-de*
EXIST-ATTR like that

zhi-la-she-ma-de   *men-de*   *ra*
become-INCOMPL-RES.AO-RES.PO-ATTR like that   also

hua   *do-li*
speech many SEN.INF

gu-liangge *jhang menzai*   *con-je-na*
DIST-SOC nowadays   as for this

je-de   *hua*   *je-ge-ha*
this-ATTR language this-REF-OD

xijjek   *ze-di-de*   *ren*   *ra*
research do-PROGR-ATTR person also

zaige   *do-li*
quite   many-SEN.INF

gangdaijhang   *jjhe*   *ngoma*
anyway   nature essence

sho-ma   *qhi-la*   *da*
say-COORD start-COND then

hai-ma   *suan*   *hai-de*
EQU-COORD Tibetan EQU-NMLZ

kodak   *hai-li*
really   EQU-SEN.INF
'Our own Wutun language, with its own nature and characteristics, came to have many linguistic elements of its own. **Therefore**, as for the situation today, there are quite a few people doing research on it. **Anyway**, to say something about the origin of our people, they are truly Tibetan.' (The Wutun Village)

The discourse connector *gu-liangge*, 'therefore' is a lexicalized form of the distal demonstrative pronoun *gu*, 'that' modified by the sociative case marker *-liangge* (see Section 3.6.2), while *gangdaijhang* is a direct lexical borrowing from Amdo Tibetan.

The counter-factual discourse connector *gu-bai-de-ra-da*, DIST-EQU.NEG.NMLZ-also-then, 'otherwise' indicates turning point in the discourse:

(423)   ***gu-bai-de-ra-da***
        DIST-NEG-NMLZ-also-then

nia	*da*	*yi*	*liang*	*waixi-de*
2SG.OBL	then	one	two	night-ATTR

ming	*mun-na*	*mi-li*
life	instead	EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF

'Otherwise (if you hadn't destroyed the zombie), you would only have one or two more nights to live.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Finally, there are various discourse-connecting particles expressing the meaning 'then, after that'. The sentences (424)-(426) give a few examples:

(424)   ***gu-da-hai-yek-da-ra***
        DIST-ADV-EQU-EXIST-then-also

aba	*sho-de*	*da*
father	say-NMLZ	then

wuzizi	*ngu*	*liang-ge*	*lai-gu-lio*
before	1	two-REF	come-COMPL-PFV

'Then the father said: 'We (two) have been there (before).' (Picnic)

(425)   ***gu-daxi-la-da***
        DIST-ADV-ABL-then

aba	*da*	*ngu*	*liang-ge*
father	and	1SG	two-REF

qhi-li~qhi-li	*da*
ride-SEN.INF~ride-SEN.INF	then

'After that the father and I kept on riding…' (Bike)

(426)   ***gu-da-la-yek-da-ra***
        DIST-ADV-ABL-EXIST-then-also

en	*aba*	*nga*	*sho-de*	*ni*	*kan*
INTJ	father	1SG.OBL	say-NMLZ	2SG	look

'Then the father said to me: 'Look!' (Picnic)

The various discourse connectors with the meaning 'then' appear to be derivations of the spatial adverb *gu-da*, 'there'. The discourse connectors *guda-la* and *guda-ra* and *gudaxilada* ~ *gudaxirada* are based on the spatial adverb *gu-da* and *gu-daxi*, 'there' and the ablative case marker *-la* ~ *-ra*. The discourse connectors *guda-la-da* ~ *guda-ra-da* are based on the forms *guda-la* and *guda-ra* with the particle *da*, 'then', as well as the discourse connectors *gu-da-la-hai-li-da* ~ *gu-da-ra-hai-li-da*, which also incorporate the equative copula *hai* and the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*, and the discourse connectors *gu-da-la-yek-da-ra* ~ *gu-da-ra-yek-da-ra* which incorporate the existential copula *yek* and the particles *-ra* and *-da* to the forms *guda-la* and *guda-ra*. Finally, there is the discourse connector *gu-da-hai-yek-da-ra*, which is based on the spatial adverb *gu-da*, 'there' as well as the equative copula *hai*, existential copula *yek*, and the particles *ra* and *da*. From a synchronic perspective discourse connectors are void of any spatial meaning and their primary function is to connect an utterance to what has been said before. However, they do have temporal meanings so their development follows a common path of metaphoric extension from spatial to temporal meaning.

5.3.2 Interjections

Interjections occur clause-initially in their own intonation unit, and they can be used alone as one-word utterances. They serve discourse functions, such as affirmation, negation or surprise. They can also express the speaker's bodily sensations, such as the sensation of pain. The most commonly used interjections are listen in Table 19.

Table 19. *Interjections*

ya	expresses affirmation
olai	expresses affirmation
en	expresses affirmation
enhen	expresses negation
ane, anene	expresses surprise
u	expresses surprise
hai	is used to catch the addressee's attention
anesho	expresses sudden pleasure
axuxu	expresses pain
enhenhen	expresses pain
ahuhu	expresses the sensation of cold
ayoxe	expresses tiredness

The interjections *ya*, *olai* and *en* express affirmation. They are often used in affirmative answers to polar questions, and frequently occur as one-word utterances, as in (427) – (429):

(427) **ya**   *aba*   *ngu*   *ji-she-lio*
      INTJ   father   1SG   remember-RES.AO-PFV
      'Yes, father, I remember.' (Bike)

(428) C: *nianzhe-de*   *mende-ge*
              last year-ATTR   like that-REF
              be-xho-li   ba
              NEG-goodSEN.INF   PROB
              'So (the price of the thangka) was not as good as last year?'

        D: **olai**
              INTJ
              'Yes (that's right).' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(429) A: *nia*   *dun-li=a*
              2SG.OBL   cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
              'Are you feeling cold?'

        B: **en**   *zaige*   *dun-li*
              INTJ   a little   cold-SEN.INF
              'Yes, (I am feeling) a little cold.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Of these three interjections, *en* is possibly of Sinitic origin, while *ya* and *olai* are direct borrowings from Amdo Tibetan. The affirmative interjection *en* has the negative counterpart *enhen*, which can be used in negative replies to polar questions:

(430)   A: *nia-ha*   *dun-li=a*
                      2SG.OBL-OD cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
                      'And how about you, are you feeling cold?'

            C: ***enhen***   *nga*   *zaige*   *ra*
                      INTJ   1SG.OBL   a little   even
                      be-dun-li
                      NEG-cold-SEN.INF
                      'No, I am not feeling cold at all.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The interjections *ane* and *anene* have mirative meanings. They indicate the speaker's surprise:

(431)   ***ane***   *taima-ge-li*   *ana*   *ni*   *kan-da*
            INTJ   bike-REF-SEN.INF   mother   2SG   look-IMP
            'Oh, it's a bike! Mother, look!' (Bike)

(432)   ***anene***   *je*   *huaiqa*   *ngu-de*   *hai-li*
            INTJ   this   book   1SG-ATTR   EQU-SEN.INF
            'Oh, this book is mine!' (I didn't expect it to be mine!) (Cairangji)

Speaker's surprise can also be expressed by the interjection *u*. For a more thorough discussion of mirativity in Wutun, see Section 7.2.1.1.

    The interjection *hai* is used to catch the addressee's attention. The context for (433) is that the speaker is unhappy because her husband suddenly leaves the room while she is talking to the researchers:

(433)   ***hai***   *bai-qhi*
            INTJ   PROH-go
            'Hey, don't go!' (Conversation 1_School)

    Finally, there are interjections expressing affective meanings or bodily sensations. The interjection *anesho* (based on the mirative interjection *ane* and the quotative verb *sho*, 'to say,

to speak') is used in sentences that express sudden pleasure (as in 434), while *ayoxe* expresses tiredness (as in 435):

(434)   **anesho**   *xho-li=a*
             INTJ   good-SEN.INF=INTERR

             gu   *xho-gu-lio*   *ze-li*
             3SG   good-COMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
             'Aha, good! (S)he has recovered (from illness).' (Cairangji)

(435)   **ayoxe**   *da*   *hua-ma*
             INTJ   now   tired-COORD

             ma-la-li   *qhe-lai-be-qen-li*
             (be) impossible-INCOMPL-SEN.INF   get up-NEG-manage-SEN.INF
             'Phew! I'm so tired I can't get up.' (Cairangji)

The particles *axuxu* (as in 436) and *enhenhen* (as in 437) express pain, while the sensation of cold can be expressed by the particle *ahuhu* (438):

(436)   **axuxu**   *shek*   *dun-ma*   *sha-la-li*
             INTJ   hand   freeze-COORD   hurt-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
             'Ouch, my hands are frostbitten!' (Cairangji)

(437)   **enhenhen** *dolo*   *tin-ma*   *bipo-li*
             INTJ   head   hurt-COORD explode-SEN.INF
             'Oh, I have a bad headache (lit. My head hurts so that it's about to explode)!'
             (Cairangji)

(438)   **ahuhu**   *jhang*   *xaigege*   *dun-li*
             INTJ   today   very   cold-SEN.INF
             'Uh, it's very cold today!' (Cairangji)

5.3.3   Particles

Finally, there is a class of words that do not fit into any of the previously discussed word classes; I have labeled them as particles. The term *particle* is problematic because there is no widely accepted cross-linguistic definition and the grammar writers often use the term in an inconsistent way (see Slater forthcoming). Therefore, I have used other terms for a particular

syntactic behavior whenever possible and kept the class of particles rather small. The main criteria I have used for labeling some words as particles is syntactic; particles differ from any other word classes in terms of their position in the clause. There are only two types of particles: final particles (Section 5.3.3.1) and the particles *ra* and *da*, 'now, also, then' (Section 5.3.3.2). Final particles are always used clause finally to express modal or discourse functions, while the particles *ra* and *da* occur after noun phrases, clauses or sentences to express their inclusion into the discourse. Other properties of particles in Wutun are: (a) particles constitute a small, closed class, (b) particles are monosyllabic, (c) particles are indeclinable and (d) particles cannot occur as one-word utterances.

5.3.3.1   Final particles

Final particles are used sentence-finally after a fully inflected verb. They express epistemic or deontic modality, such as certainty, uncertainty or necessity. Final particles occur in the same intonation group as the preceding clause and they cannot be used as single-word utterances. The final particles are listed in Table 20.

Table 20. *Final particles*

ya	EMPH	emphatic modal particle
ba	PROB	probabilitative modal particle
be	PROB	probabilitative modal particle
dai	NEC	necessitative modal particle

The final particle *ya* adds emphasis to a predication and indicates a high degree of certainty:

(439)   *zang*   *be-xho-li*   **ya**
         Tibet   NEG-good-SEN.INF   **EMPH**
         'Central Tibet is (certainly) not a good (place to sell thangkas).' (Conversation
         2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

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Although homonymous with the interjection *ya*, the final particle *ya* has a distinct function. While the interjection *ya* is used clause-initially to express affirmative replies, the particle *ya* is used clause-finally to make the statement more emphatic.

The final particles *ba* and *be* (both borrowed from Amdo Tibetan) serve as probabilitative markers. They are used when the speaker makes a guess about something, but is not absolutely sure of his/her statement:

(440) A: *nga-mu*   *liang-ge-de*   *tangka*
          1-COLL   two-REF-ATTR   thangka

          jhi-ge
          how many-REF

          yai   *wanlan-lio*   *ze-li*
          month   do-PFV   EXEC- SEN.INF
          'For how many months have our thangkas been made?'

      B: *liang-ge*   *yai*   *hai-yek*   ***ba***
          two-REF   month   EQU-EGO   **PROB**
          'Two months, I guess.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(441) *u*   *pa*   *qhi-gu-ma-da*
      INTJ   friend   go-COMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

      gejhai   *ra*   *lai-di-li*   ***be***
      self   also   come-PROGR-SEN.INF   **PROB**
      'Oh, when (his) friend has left, he will also come back himself, I guess.'
      (Wutun_0028Conversation_2)

Finally, there is the final particle *dai* that indicates necessity of an event:

(442) *da*   *ngu*   *qhi-gu*   ***dai***
      then   1SG   go-COMPL   **NEC**
      'So I have to go (by myself).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

5.3.3.2   The particles *ra* and *da*, 'now, also, then'

The particles *ra*, 'also, again, and, but, (not) even' and *da*, 'now, then, and, also then' indicate the inclusion or introduction of the preceding syntactic unit. They can also express temporal meanings. Although they share some of their functional properties with adverbs, notably focalizers (see Section 5.2.5), they are more flexible in terms of their distribution and can

occur in various positions in the clause. While adverbs characteristically modify a verb, an adjective or another adverb, the particles *ra* and *da* can modify a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, an adverb, a non-final clause, a nominalized clause or an independent clause. When used in between two noun phrases or two independent clauses, they have a coordinating function and they are functionally equivalent to conjunctions, which is not possible for adverbs. Examples of the various uses of *ra* and *da* are given in (443) – (450):

(443) modifying an argument noun phrase:
  han *lhakang-dera* ***ra*** *jja-la-ma*
  yet temple-PL **even** visit-INCOMPL-COORD

  mi-yek
  EXIST.NEG-EGO
  'I haven't even visited the temples yet.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(444) *ngu* ***ra*** *qhi-zhe*
  1SG **also** go-PROSP
  'I will also go.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(445) modifying a topic noun phrase and coordinating two noun phrases:
  han *a-li* *hai-ra*
  also where EQU-COND

  da *molon* *shai* ***da*** *gu-duru* *shai*
  then Molon time **and** that-PL time,

  a-li *hai-ra* *jja-la-ma-da*
  where EQU-COND visit-INCOMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ
  'Also, everywhere then, during the Molon ritual and the other rituals, (the people) visit everywhere (in their home village)…' (Village Festivals)

(446) modifying a postpositional phrase:
  mende-ge-de *hai-de* *kuli* ***da***
  like that-REF-NMLZ EQU-NMLZ time **then**

  dangma *nga-n-de* *wu-li-de* *adia*
  long ago 1-COLL-ATTR DIST-LOC-ATTR monk

  hai-de *re* *sho-li*
  EQU-NMLZ FACT REP-SEN.INF
  'In those days, then, our monks over there, they used to be in such circumstances, they say.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(447) modifying a non-final clause:

gu	lai-la	**ra**	ngu	qhi-zhe
3SG	come-COND	**even**	1SG	go-PROSP

'Even if he comes, I will go.' (Cairangji)

(448) modifying a nominalized clause:

yilai	dangma	mu	hai-de	**ra**
anyway	long ago	TOP	EQU-NMLZ	**also**

zang	jja-la	qhi-la
Tibet	visit-COND	go-COND

'Anyway, in those days, also, when you visited to Tibet… (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(449) modifying an independent clause to express temporal meaning:

ni	a-li	qhi-zhe	**da**
1SG	where	go-PROSP	**now**

'Where are you going now?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(450) coordinating two independent clauses:

da	hua	je-ge	sho-ma	qhi-la
then	language	this-REF	say-COORD	start-COND

da	zaige	xxandang
then	a little	(be) different

mezzha-la-de-ge
(be) different-INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF

hai-li	sho-li=mu	**ra**
EQU-SEN.INF	say-SEN.INF=INTERR	**but**

gangdaijhang	zowo	da
anyway	main thing	then

nga-n-de	je-ge	raigong
1-COLL-ATTR	this-REF	Rebgong

be-ten-de
NEG-(be) harmonious-ATTR

'Then, to say something about the (Wutun) language, it is somewhat unique, they say, but the most important thing is that our (language) is different from Rebgong (Amdo Tibetan).' (The Wutun Village)

As illustrated by the examples, particles *ra* and *da* link units of speech, such as noun phrases, postpositional phrases, clauses and sentences. Clause-combining functions of *ra* and *da* are discussed in Section 10.5.2.

6 Aspect

Aspect in Wutun is a very complex category that allows encoding of multiple aspects at once by marking several different bounds of the same situation. For example, the sentence *ngu tin-di-lio*: 1SG (be) sick-PROGR-PFV, 'I suffered from illness' marked by the suffix *-lio* refers to a perfective event with a clear endpoint. However, the progressive *-di* has a function here, too: it indicates that the perfective event has the internal structure of a process. The perfective dominates the progressive and it therefore functions as the *primary aspect marker*, while the progressive offers further specification of the internal structure of the perfective and it therefore functions as the *secondary aspect marker*. Section 6.1 provides a general introduction into aspect marking in Wutun, as well as the terminology used in this chapter. Primary aspect markers are discussed in Section 6.2 and secondary aspect markers in Section 6.3. While it is possible to use only one aspect marker on the verb, it is very common in Wutun to mark multiple aspects consisting of a primary aspect marker and one or two secondary aspect markers. Multiple aspect marking is addressed in detail in Section 6.4. Finally, in addition to fully grammaticalized aspect markers, Wutun has various other constructions of expressing aspectual meanings, such as complement verbs, verb-auxiliary constructions and reduplication of the verb. These aspect-marking strategies are treated in Section 6.5.

6.1 Preliminaries

Wutun has a rich system of aspect markers that express temporal properties of situations. Like other Sinitic languages, Wutun has no obligatory category of tense. While tense is a deictic category that shows the reference point in relation to which the situation is located in temporal space (e.g. past, present or future), aspect is a non-deictic category that is concerned with the internal temporal structure of the situation (Comrie 1976: 5; Dahl 1985: 25). Wutun aspect markers generally express whether the situation has some kind of bound or limit, regardless of whether the situation takes place in the past, present or future. The division between aspect and tense, however, is not sharp and the aspect markers can also imply tense as their secondary meaning. For example, prospective aspect often denotes future events.

Before proceeding, a few notes on terminology are in order. *Situation type* influences the choice of an aspect marker in Wutun. It is useful to make a distinction between the following situation types: 1) *states*, i.e., durative situations that do not involve change across time (such as knowing, liking), *processes*, i.e., durative situations that do not involve change across time (such as walking, working) and 3) *events*, i.e., completed situations that do involve change across time (such as breaking, dying). An important concept in describing aspect marking is *boundedness*. Boundedness refers to the actual achievement of the endpoint of the situation (Lindstedt 2001: 773). For example, *She was reading a book* is unbounded, while *She read a book in an hour* is bounded. From a cross-linguistic perspective, aspect markers differ according to what types of bounds they express and it is useful to make a distinction between two types of bounds: temporal bound and material bound (see Lindstedt 1995, 2001). Temporal bound expresses that the speaker spent some time on the activity and then did something else, while material bound marks the situation as completed: the speaker finished the work s/he was doing and/or the action totally affected the object. Material bound always implies temporal bound, but not vice versa. For example, *I wrote a letter for an hour* is temporally bounded, while *I wrote a letter in an hour* is both temporally and materially bounded. This type of distinction is particularly important in Wutun, because some of the aspect markers only express temporal boundedness, while other aspect markers are concerned with both temporal and material boundedness.

Aspect in Wutun is marked on verbs by suffixes. A striking feature in Wutun aspect marking system is the use of several aspect markers in combination with each other to encode different types of bounds in the internal temporal structure of the situation:

(451)   *ngu*   *ni*   *lai*   *be-ji-li*
          1SG   2SG   come   NEG-reach-SEN.INF

         *ddo-**la**-**lio***
         think-INCOMPL-**PFV**
         'I thought you will not come in time.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (451), the perfective *-lio* sets the main framework for the temporal structure of the situation: the situation has been terminated. However, the incompletive *-la* further specifies that the perfective situation has an internal structure of a temporary state that has not been completed in any way. The speaker spent some time on thinking and then did something else, but s/he did not accomplish anything. Therefore, the situation is viewed as temporally but not materially bounded. Wutun has a set of aspect markers that are generally concerned about the temporal boundedness of the situation and they are usually placed on the last position on the verb if there is more than one aspect marker (such as *-lio* in 451); I will call them *primary aspect markers*. Another set of aspect markers are generally more concerned about the material boundedness of the situation expressed by the primary aspect markers and are always placed before them if there is more than one aspect marker (such as *-la* in 451); I will call them *secondary aspect markers*. However, the division between the two types of aspect markers is not always clear-cut. Any of the aspect markers can occur as the only aspect marker on the verb, and some of the primary aspect markers can occupy the secondary aspect slot. The main difference between the two types of aspect markers is that when the verb has more than one aspect marker, the main framework for the temporal structure of the situation must be set by one of the primary aspect markers, and the secondary aspect markers must always precede the primary aspect marker to offer further specification for the internal temporal structure of the situation.

Multiple aspect marking systems that resemble the Wutun system seem to be cross-linguistically quite uncommon; however, there are a couple of existing studies on the topic. Lindstedt (1984) discusses the phenomenon in several Slavic languages using the term

aspectual nesting. Gruzdeva (2012) describes complex aspectual forms in Nivkh (Paleo-Siberian).

6.2 Primary aspect markers

In addition to morphologically zero-marked imperfective aspect, Wutun has four primary aspect markers: perfective (Section 6.2.1), progressive (Section 6.2.2), patient-oriented resultative (Section 6.2.3) and prospective (Section 6.2.4). Perfective aspect expresses temporally bounded situations with a clear endpoint, while progressive aspect indicates temporally unbounded situations that can be viewed as either on-going or habitual. Patient-oriented resultative aspect expresses that the Patient has undergone a change of state as the result of a past action. Finally, prospective aspect marks situations that are going to take place in the future or whose effect continues to the future. Wutun primary aspect markers are summarized by Table 21.

Table 21. *Primary aspect markers*

ø		zero-marked imperfective aspect
-lio	PFV	perfective aspect, marks the situation as temporally bounded
-di	PROGR	progressive, habitual or iterative aspect, marks the situation as temporally unbounded
-ma	RES.PO	patient-oriented resultative aspect, marks the end state of the Patient that has resulted due to past actions
-zhe	PROSP	prospective aspect, marks the situation whose effect continues to the future

Verbal stems unmarked for aspect (as in 452 and 453) have a default interpretation of imperfective aspect:

(452) *nga*   *tin-li*
       1SG.OBL   (be) sick-SEN.INF
       'I am sick.' (Cairangji)

(453)   **da**   *tuze*   *xaige*   *e-li*
        now   stomach   very   (be) hungry-SEN.INF
        'Right now I am very hungry.' (Cairangji)

As in other Sinitic languages, Wutun verbs have no obligatory category of tense. Tense is usually implied by the context, or it can be expressed explicitly by temporal adverbs or particles (see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.4). Example (452) is translated as a past tense because past tense reference is evident from the discourse context, while in (453) the present tense is indicated by the particle *da*, 'now'.

6.2.1 Perfective aspect marker *-lio*

Perfective aspect marker *-lio* (Mandarin Chinese perfective aspect particle *le* 了) indicates bounded situations with a clear limit or endpoint. The situation is viewed in its entirety, and the focus is on the situation as a whole[10]:

(454)   *ngu-jhege*   *guda*   *wa-ge*   *she*   *zhek-**lio***
        1-PAUC   there   hill-REF   on   go-**PFV**

        ze-li
        EXEC-SEN.INF
        'We climbed to a hill.' (Picnic)

(455)   *ngu*   *cu*   *yegai-ge*   *xai-**lio***
        1SG   yesterday   letter-REF   write-**PFV**
        'I did some letter-writing yesterday.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In terms of boundedness *-lio* expresses the situation which is temporally, but not necessarily materially bounded. In (455), for example, *-lio* indicates that the speaker spent some time in writing a letter and then did something else, but he did not necessarily finish the letter. To mark the situation also as materially bounded, i.e., the speaker finished the work, the secondary aspect marker *-gu* indicating completion must be added to the verb (see Section 6.3 for examples). Because *-lio* only marks the situation as temporally bounded and it does

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[10] Perfective aspect marker *-lio* also participates in evidential marking. The relationship between perfective aspect and evidentiality is discussed in Sections 4.4.1 and 7.1.1.2.

not imply completive meaning, it can be used with both inherently telic verbs denoting events (such as to kill, to break) and inherently atelic verbs denoting processes (such as motion verbs).

Perfective *-lio* views the situation in its entirety, so it often implies past tense as its secondary meaning. However, *-lio* is not entirely tied to past tense and it can also be used in future contexts if the speaker expects the situation to terminate in the future. In (456) *-lio* is used for future situation that the speaker expects to terminate:

(456) *kuai-ge-da*　　　　　*che-gu-**lio***
　　　quick-CAUS-IMP　　　be late-COMPL-**PFV**
　　　'Hurry, (otherwise) you will be late!' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Like the perfective aspect in Standard Mandarin, the perfective *-lio* in Wutun is not used in present tense contexts or in repeated situations. This is natural, because *-lio* indicates situations with a clear endpoint and its meaning is therefore not compatible with the situations that are still going on or will take place more than once. The progressive *-di* discussed in Section 6.2.2 is often used to express present or repeated situations.

6.2.2 Progressive aspect marker *-di*

Progressive aspect marker *-di* is derived from a combination of the nominalizer *-de* (SM *de* 的) and the existential copula *yek* (SM *yǒu* 有). This marker typically denotes temporally unbounded processes that do involve change across time (such as walking, working). Sentences with *-di* can have progressive or habitual meaning.[11] In its progressive meaning, -*di* typically expresses currently on-going action (as in 457 and 458) or currently relevant state (as in 459 and 460):

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[11] Given its use in both progressive and habitual contexts, *-di* could be alternatively labelled as imperfective. However, I have decided to use the term progressive to distinguish *-di* from unmarked verbal stems that express imperfective meaning (see Section 6.2). While both unmarked verbal stems and the progressive suffix *-di* mark the situation as temporally unbounded, they are used with significantly different situation types. Unmarked verbal stems are almost exclusively used with situations that do not involve change across time, while the progressive *-di* is used with situations that do involve change across time and could potentially be terminated. The progressive *-di* indicates that the situation involving change across time has not been terminated, and it is instead viewed as either on-going process or situation that takes places from time to time.

(457)   *ngu*   *rek*   *qe-**di**-yek*
         1SG   meat   eat-**PROGR**-EGO
         'I am eating meat.' (Cairangji)

(458)   *gu-jhege*   *zang-li*   *wanlan-**di**-li*
         3-PAUC   Tibet-LOC   do-**PROGR**-SEN.INF
         'They are (currently) working in Tibet.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking
         and Car)

(459)   *men*   *kai-**di**-li*
         door   open-**PROGR**-SEN.INF
         'The door is kept open.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(460)   *ngu-de*   *tuze*   *e-**di**-li*
         1SG-ATTR   stomach   hungry-**PROGR**-SEN.INF
         'I am hungry.' (Cairangji)

Progressive *-di* is common in present tense contexts, but is not confined to present tense. It can also be used for past events if the event is viewed as on-going rather than terminated:

(461)   *gu-jhege*   *maidok-de tangga*   *wanlan-**di**-li*
         3-PAUC   pearl thangka   do-**PROGR**-SEN.INF

         yenze   *do-li*   *sho-**di**-li*
         money   much-SEN.INF   REP-**PROGR**-SEN.INF
         'They were making a pearl thangka. They got a lot of money, they say.'
         (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Progressive *-di* can also express habitual situations. In its habitual meaning, *-di* denotes a situation that takes place from time to time, and does not refer to any specific situation. The habitual situation can be viewed as non-punctual (as in 462 and 463) or punctual (as in 464 and 465):

(462)   *awo-jhege*   *zowo*   *hai-la*   *je-ge*   *da*
           man-PAUC   main thing   EQU-IRR   this-REF   then

           lha   *hua-**di**-li*
           deity   paint-**PROGR**-SEN.INF
           'As for men (in our village), the main thing they are doing, they paint
           thangkas.' (The Wutun Village)

(463)   *aba*   *yinhang-li*   *xawa*   *wanlan-**di**-yek*
           father   bank-LOC   work   do-**PROGR**-EGO
           'My father works in a bank.' (Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

(464)   *ngu*   *yi-tian jhangga*   *dico*   *yi-zek*
           1SG   every day   hour   one

           luyinji   *din-**di**-yek*
           tape recorder   listen-**PROGR**-EGO
           'I listen to the tape recorder one hour every day.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(465)   *ngu*   *yi-tian-de jhangga*   *she-yi*   *dian*   *shai*
           1SG   every day   eleven   o'clock   time

           *xhui-**di**-yek*
           sleep-**PROGR**-EGO
           'I go to sleep at eleven o'clock every day.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Apart from the actual progressive marker *-di*, a progressive meaning in Wutun can be expressed by the original periphrastic construction *-de yek*, which involves a combination of the nominalizer *-de* and the existential copula *yek* (as in the first line of 466). Consider:

(466)   A: *ni*   *chuang*   *she*   *za-**de***
                 2SG   bed   on   smoke-**NMLZ**

                 yek   *ya*
                 EXIST   **EMPH**
                 'Do you smoke in the bed?'

           B: *ngu*   *za-**di***   ***mi**-yek*
                 1SG   smoke-**PROGR**   **NEG.EQU**-EGO
                 'No, I don't.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

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The periphrastic progressive construction has given rise to the actual progressive marker *-di*. The origin of the progressive aspect marker *-di* as a combination of the nominalizer *-de* and the existential copula *yek* is still evident in negative constructions. The negation of progressive *-di* involves the negative auxiliary *mi*, which is the negative counterpart of the existential copula *yek*. In negative constructions, *mi* stands separately after the progressive form and takes the evidential and mood marking (as in the second line of 466). Wutun progressive aspect has an exact parallel in Amdo Tibetan, which also makes use of the nominalized verb and the existential copula in expressing the progressive aspect (see Sung and Lha Byams Gryal 2005: 130), and the progressive construction *-de yek* in Wutun has most probably developed due to Tibetan influence.

6.2.3 Patient-oriented resultative aspect marker *-ma*

Patient-oriented resultative aspect marker *-ma*[12] (origin unknown) marks the end state of the Patient that exists as a result of a past action. With dynamic verbs, *-ma* indicates the result of an event:

(467)   *dojjaiji   ma-ge   xai-**ma**-li*
         PN   what-REF   write-**RES.PO**-SEN.INF
         'What did Dojjaiji get written (at school)?' (Conversation 1_School)

(468)   *hura-li   hu   dodode   zhun-**ma**-li*
         garden-LOC   flower   many   plant-**RES.PO**-SEN.INF
         'There are a lot of flowers plant in the garden.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

   With static verbs or adjectives, *-ma* indicates an end of a process:

(469)   *xhui   rai-qhe-**ma**-li*
         water   (be) hot-start-**RES.PO**-SEN.INF
         'The water has got hot.' (Cairangji)

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[12] Wutun has two resultative aspect markers: patient-oriented resultative *-ma* and agent-oriented resultative *-she*. While patient-oriented resultative *-ma* occupies the primary aspect slot and marks the end state of the Patient, the agent-oriented resultative *-she* occupies the secondary aspect slot and marks the end state of the Agent. The two resultatives can also be used together to emphasize both the results achieved by the Agent and end state of the Patient. I will gloss *-ma* as RES.PO, 'patient-oriented resultative' and *-she* as RES.AO, 'agent-oriented resultative', respectively. The agent-oriented resultative *-she* is dealt in Section 6.2.1.3 and multiple resultative marking is dealt in Section 6.2.3.3.

(470)   *gu*   *nixhe-de*   *xencai*   *xaige*
             3SG   girl-ATTR   body   very

            *qang-**ma**-li*
            (be) long-**RES.PO**-SEN.INF
            'That girl has grown very tall.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

6.2.4 Prospective aspect marker *-zhe*

Prospective aspect marker *-zhe* (Mandarin Chinese imperfective particle *zhe* 着) typically encodes situations that are going to take place in the future, as in (471) and (472):

(471)   A: *cairang duanzhe*   *lai-**zhe***
                 PN   come-**PROSP**

               sho-di-li=a
               REP-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
               'According to what they say, is Cairang Duanzhe coming back from Lhasa?'

         B: *lai-**zhe***   *sho-di-li*
                 come-**PROSP** REP-PROGR-SEN.INF

               lek-yai-li   *lai-**zhe***   *sho-di-li*
                 six-month-LOC   come-**PROSP** REP-PROGR-SEN.INF
               'He will come, they say. He will come in June, they say.'
               (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(472)   A: *ni*   *a-li*   *qhi-**zhe***   *da*
                 2SG   where   go-**PROSP**   now
               'Where are you going now?'

         B: *ngu*   *rongbo-li*   *qhi-**zhe***
                 1SG   Longwu-LOC   go-**PROSP**
               'I am going to Longwu.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

When used in multiple aspect constructions together with the perfective *-lio*, *-zhe* can also express past situations that have already taken place, but whose effect still continues to the future (see Section 6.4.4.1 for examples). Therefore, I will analyze it as an aspect marker instead of future tense marker.

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6.3 Secondary aspect markers

In addition to the four primary aspect markers discussed in Section 6.2, Wutun has three secondary aspect markers, incompletive *-la* (Section 6.3.1), completive *-gu* (Section 6.3.2) and agent-oriented resultative *-she* (Section 6.3.3). Incompletive *-la* marks the situation as materially unbounded, while completive *-gu* marks the situation as materially bounded. Agent-oriented resultative *-she* marks the end state of an Agent. Wutun secondary aspect markers are summarized by Table 22.

Table 22. *Secondary aspect markers*

-la	INCOMPL	incompletive, marks the situation as materially unbounded
-gu	COMPL	completive, marks the situation as materially bounded
-she	RES.AO	agent-oriented resultative, marks the end state of the Agent that has resulted due to past actions

As already noted in Section 6.1, the division between primary and secondary aspect markers is not always clear-cut, because both of them can be used as the only aspect marker on the verb and some primary aspect markers (notably the perfective *-lio* discussed in Section 6.2.1 and progressive *-di* discussed in Section 6.2.2) can express secondary aspect. However, when there is more than one aspect marker on the verb, the main framework for the temporal structure of the situation must always be set by one of the four primary aspect markers discussed in Section 6.2, while one or two secondary aspect markers discussed in this section offer further specification for the internal temporal structure of the situation. The primary aspect marker is always placed on the last position on the verb, while secondary aspect markers occur in between the verbal stem and the primary aspect marker.

6.3.1 Incompletive marker *-la*

Incompletive marker *-la* (Amdo Tibetan multifunctional converb *-la*) marks the situation as materially unbounded:

(473) A: *ni*   *menzai*   *ddo-**la**-li=a*
             2SG   like that   think-**INCOMPL**-SEN.INF=INTERR
             'Do you agree with me?'

       B: *ngu*   *ra*   *menzai*   *ddo-**la**-li*
             1SG   also   like that   think-**INCOMPL**-SEN.INF
             'I agree.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(474) *ngu*   *ana*   *zhan-**la**-li*
       1SG   mother   miss-**INCOMPL**-SEN.INF
       'I miss my mother.' (Cairangji)

(475) *ngu*   *yen-yek*   *jjhang-**la**-de*
       1SG   English-language   study-**INCOMPL**-NMLZ

       *gga-**la**-li*
       like-**INCOMPL**-SEN.INF
       'I like studying English.' (Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

In most of the examples found in my data, *-la* expresses states that do not involve change across time, such as *ddo*, 'to think' in , *zhan*, 'to miss' in and *gga*, 'to like' in . Sometimes it also expresses incomplete processes, such as *jjhang*, 'to study' in . Incompletive *-la* can be used as the only aspect marker on the verb and it is frequently used with any of the primary aspect markers if an event has an internal structure of incomplete state or process (see Section 6.4).

Incompletive *-la* is commonly used with adjectives. When used as predicates, adjectives share their morphological and distributional properties with verbs and they behave like stative verbs that denote states instead of dynamic events or processes. Incompletive *-la* indicates that the adjectival predicate refers to a permanent state with no reference to its endpoint:

(476) *ni-de*   *quandi*   *xaige*   *yak-**la**-li*
       2SG-ATTR   clothes   very   beautiful-**INCOMPL**-SEN.INF
       'Your clothes are very beautiful.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

With adjectives of Tibetan origin, *-la* has become an integral part of the verbal stem. This is evident with adjectives derived through nominalization and used attributively. When

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derived adjectives are used attributively, *-la* is treated as a part of the stem and it is reduplicated:

(477)   *da*   *mende*   *ti*   *she*
           then   like that   place   on

           *so-**la**~**la**-de-ge*
           comfortable-**INCOMPL~INCOMPL**-NMLZ-REF
           'This place is comfortable…' (Picnic)

6.3.2 Completive marker *-gu*

Completive marker *-gu* (Mandarin Chinese verb *guò* 过, 'to pass') marks the situation as materially bounded. It indicates that the action is completed. It can also indicate that the action totally affected the entity:

(478)   *dojjai*   *yegai-ha*   *zhungo*
           PN   letter-OD   China

           *dai-**gu**-lio*
           send-**COMPL**-PFV
           'Dojjai sent the letter to China.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(479)   *gu*   *she*   *zha-**gu**-lio*   *ze-li*
           that   house   explode-**COMPL**-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
           'That house exploded.' (Cairangji)

(480)   *ban-lu*   *she*   *zhawa*   *se-**gu**-lio*
           half-way   on   disciple   die-**COMPL**-PFV
           'On half way (to Lhasa), the disciple died.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

While incompletive *-la* is typically used with verbs denoting states or processes (such as cognitive verbs or adjectives), completive *-gu* is more common with verbs denoting events (such as *se*, 'to die' in 480). It often expresses momentary, punctual situations (such as *zha*, 'to explode' in 479).

We have seen in Section 6.2.1 that the perfective aspect marker *-lio* marks the situation as temporally bounded (the speaker spent some time on the activity and then did something else), but not necessarily materially bounded (the speaker did not necessarily finish the work, or the action did not totally affect the object). To mark the event also as materially bounded, completive *-gu* must be added on the verb:

(481)   *ngu*   *cu*   *yegai-ge*   *xai-**lio***
         1SG   yesterday   letter-REF   write-**PFV**
         'I did some letter-writing yesterday.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(482)   *je*   *huaiqa-ha*   *ngu*   *kan-**gu-lio***
         this   book-OD   1SG   read-**COMPL-PFV**
         'As for this book, I have finished reading it. (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (481) the speaker spent some time on writing a letter, but s/he did not necessarily complete the letter, while in (482) the speaker spent some time on reading the book and finished the whole book. A material bound entails temporal bound so that materially bounded events are always temporally bounded as well, but not necessarily vice versa. More examples on the various uses of *-gu* in multiple aspect marking are found in Section 6.4.

6.3.3 Agent-oriented resultative marker *-she*

Agent-oriented resultative marker *-she* (Mandarin Chinese verb *shàng* 上, 'to ascend') marks the end state of the Agent that has resulted due to past action:

(483)   *da*   *adia*   *da*   *zhawa*   *liang-ge*
         then   monk   and   disciple   two-REF

         du   *jaze*   *bi-**she**-ma*
         only   basket   carry-**RES.AO**-COORD

         xhen-dio-de   *re*
         walk-NEC-NMLZ   FACT
         'Then the monk and the disciple had to start walking carrying the baskets on their back.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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(484) *yidaze* *mio* *qhi-**she**-ma*
       all   temple go-**RES.AO**-COORD

       xen   *quandi* *da*   *gu-duru* *quan-**she**-ma*
       new   clothes   and   that-PL   dress-**RES.AO**-COORD
       'Everybody goes to the temple and dresses into the new clothes…' (Village
       Festivals)

Agent-oriented resultative marker -*she* is usually used in multiple aspect marking in combination with either perfective aspect marker -*lio* or patient-oriented resultative aspect marker -*ma* (see Sections 6.4.1. and 6.4.3). It emphasizes that the event has led to results due to the past actions of the Agent.

6.4 Multiple aspect marking

Although it is possible to have only one temporal bound marker on the verb, multiple aspect marking is extremely common in Wutun. Many of the Wutun aspect marking constructions involve two or three aspect markers, all of which mark different types of bounds in temporal space and offer different perspectives to the the situation. In multiple aspect marking the main framework for the temporal structure of the situation is always set by one of the four primary aspect markers (see Section 6.2). The primary aspect marker is then preceded by one or more secondary aspect markers (see Section 6.3) that provide further information on the internal structure of the situation with respect to the main framework. The division between the primary and secondary aspect marker is not always clear-cut. Sometimes the primary aspect markers, notably perfective -*lio* and progressive -*di* can be used before another primary aspect marker to express secondary aspect. However, if there is more than one aspect marker on the verb, the secondary aspect markers can never occur on the primary aspect position as the last aspect marker on the verb.

Section 6.4.1 discusses multiple aspect marking in perfective aspect. Section 6.4.2 treats multiple aspect marking in progressive aspect and Section 6.4.3 deals with multiple aspect marking in resultative aspect. Finally, Section 6.4.4 concludes with a treatment of multiple aspect marking in prospective aspect.

6.4.1 Perfective aspect

All the secondary aspect markers, incompletive -*la*, completive -*gu* and agent-oriented resultative -*she* can be used in perfective aspect. Because in perfective aspect the situation is temporally bounded and viewed in its entirety, the speaker can mark the internal structure of the situation as materially unbounded (as indicated by -*la*), materially bounded (as indicated by -*gu*) or as resultative (as indicated by -*she*). The perfective -*lio* can also be combined with the progressive -*di* to mark a bounded situation that has an internal structure of a process.

6.4.1.1 Incompletive-perfective *-la-lio*

Incompletive-perfective -*la-lio* marks temporally bounded situations that have an internal structure of a temporary state:

(485)   *ngu*   *ni*   *lai*   *be-ji-li*
            1SG   2SG   come   NEG-reach-SEN.INF

            *ddo-**la-lio***
            think-**INCOMPL-PFV**
            'I thought you will not come in time.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (485) -*lio* marks the situation as temporally bounded. The speaker spent some time on thinking the possibility that the hearer will not come. However, in terms of its internal structure, thinking is viewed as a state that did not involve any change across time. Moreover, it has not been completed in any way, nor it has led to any results. The incomplete marker -*la* stresses the material unboundedness of the situation.

6.4.1.2 Completive-perfective *-gu-lio*

Completive-perfective -*gu-lio* marks the situation both as temporally and materially bounded. The speaker spent some time on the activity and completed it. In (486), for example, the speaker spent some time on reading the book and s/he finished the whole book:

(486)　*je*　　　　*huaiqa-ha*　*ngu*　　　*kan-**gu-lio***
　　　　　this　　　　book-OD　　1SG　　　read-**COMPL-PFV**
　　　　　'As for this book, I have finished reading it.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

While *-lio* only marks the situation as terminated, *-gu* stresses that the speaker completed what s/he was doing. It can also indicate that the action totally affects or consumes the entity as in (487):

(487)　*ngu*　　　　*she-ge*　　*sha-**gu-lio***
　　　　　1SG　　　　snake-REF　kill-**COMPL-PFV**
　　　　　'I have killed a snake.' (Cairangji)

6.4.1.3 Incompletive-completive-perfective *-la-gu-lio*

Sometimes both incompletive *-la* and completive *-gu* are used together in perfective aspect. Incompletive-completive-perfective *-la-gu-lio* marks a temporally bounded situation, which has an internal structure of a state or a process and which has been completed:

(488)　*ngu*　　　　*gu-ha*　　　*dadada*
　　　　　1SG　　　　3SG-OD　　just

　　　　　*jja-**la-gu-lio***
　　　　　meet-**INCOMPL-COMPL-PFV**
　　　　　'I just visited him/her (the visit lasted for some time, was completed a moment ago and is over now).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (488) the perfective *-lio* indicates that the situation of visiting a friend has been terminated. Incompletive *-la* marks the situation as a process that lasted for some time, and *-gu* expresses that the visit has been completed. Example (488) has a temporal adverb *dadada*, 'just', which indicates that the situation was completed a moment ago and *-gu* further stresses this punctual meaning. Visiting a friend is viewed as a terminated situation, which has an internal structure of a process and a clear endpoint.

　　　　Examples (489) and (490) illustrate the differences between incompletive-perfective *-la-lio* and incompletive-completive-perfective *-la-gu-lio*:

(489) *xo wang*   *san*   *nian-de*   *ggo*   *jjhayek*
       PN   three   year-ATTR   time   Chinese

     *jjhang-**la-lio***   *ze-li*
     study-**INCOMPL-PFV**   EXEC-SEN.INF
     'Xiao Wang has studied Chinese for three years.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(490) *xo wang*   *san*   *nian-na*   *jjhayek*
       PN   three   year-DISTR   Chinese

     *jjhang-**la-gu-lio***   *ze-li*
     study-**INCOMPL-COMPL-PFV**   EXEC-SEN.INF
     'Xiao Wang has finished his/her Chinese studies in three years.'
     (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Example (489) with incompletive *-la* marks a temporally bounded situation, which has an internal structure of an incomplete process. The sentence could mean, for example, that Xiao Wang has spent three years for learning Chinese, but has not completed any study program. Example (490) with both incompletive *-la* and completive *-gu*, on the other hand, indicates that the terminated study process has also been completed. It could mean that Xiao Wang has completed a three-year degree program in Chinese language, or that s/he has achieved a good command of Chinese by studying the language for three years.

6.4.1.4 Agent-oriented resultative-perfective *-she-lio*

Agent-oriented resultative-perfective *-she-lio* expresses temporally bounded situations where the Agent has reached a new end state due to past action. The past situation is viewed through its results:

(491) *gejhai-na*   *zaibala*   *xhui-li*   *wu-**she-lio***
       self-OBL   almost   water-LOC   drown-**RES.AO-PFV**
       'He almost drowned in the water!' (Bike)

(492)	*je*	*nian*	*nga-n-de*	*jashe*	*qhichai-ge*
	this	year	1-COLL-ATTR	PN	car-REF

*mai-**she-lio***
buy-**RES.AO-PFV**
'This year our Jashe bought a car.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Agent-oriented resultative-perfective *-she-lio* marks the end state of the Agent, which has a clear limit and which will not continue to the future. The events like drowning in and buying in are punctual events with a clear endpoint. If the end state of the Agent that has resulted from past actions is viewed as a temporally unbounded process that continues to the future, agent-oriented resultative-progressive *-she-di* must be used (see Section 6.4.2.3).

6.4.1.5 Agent-oriented resultative-completive-perfective *-she-gu-lio*

Agent-oriented resultative-completive-perfective *-she-gu-lio* stresses both the completion of the event and the end state of the Agent in temporally bounded situations:

(493) *huan*   *xhe-**she-gu-lio***
       food   drink-**RES.AO-COMPL-PFV**
       'I have finished the food (I have finished eating, I have eaten up all the food and I am full now).' (Cairangji)

In (493) the speaker spent some time on eating, consumed all the food and due to this past action s/he reached an end state of being full.

6.4.1.6 Progressive-perfective *-di-lio*

In addition to secondary aspect markers, progressive *-di* can be used together with perfective *-lio*. The progressive-perfective *-di-lio* indicates temporally bounded situations that have an internal structure of a process:

(494) *nga*   *tin-**di-lio***
       1SG.OBL   be sick-**PROGR-PFV**
       'I was suffering from illness.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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The difference between progressive-perfective *-di-lio* and incompletive-perfective *-la-lio* (see Section 4.1.1) is that while *-la-lio* denotes terminated, temporary states that do not involve change across time, *-di-lio* (as illustrated by example 492) denotes terminated processes that do involve change across time.

6.4.2 Progressive aspect

The progressive *-di* expresses temporally unbounded situations that can be viewed either as on-going or habitual. It typically denotes processes, i.e. durative situations that do involve change across time. Progressive *-di* can be combined with all the secondary aspect markers, the incompletive *-la*, the completive *-gu* and the agent-oriented resultative *-she*. Incompletive *-la* stresses the incomplete, continuous nature of the process, while completive *-gu* indicates that the process is about to complete. Agent-oriented resultative *-she* marks the process as a result of the previous actions of the Agent.

6.4.2.1 Incompletive-progressive *-la-di*

When progressive *-di* expresses habitual action, it can be used together with incompletive *-la*. Incompletive-progressive *-la-di* marks the situation as both materially and temporally unbounded. Consider:

(495) *da*   *xaitangwa-jhege*   *hai-la*
       then   pupil-PAUC   EQU-COND

       ra   *da*   *zowo*
       also   then   main thing

       gejhai~jhai-de   *sa~sa-li*   *zowo*
       self~self-ATTR   place-LOC   main thing

       *jjhang-**la-di**-de-ge*
       study-**INCOMPL-PROGR**-NMLZ-REF

       suan   *yegai*   *jjhang-**la-di**-li*
       Tibetan   language   study-**INCOMPL-PROGR**-SEN.INF
       'As regards for schoolchildren, the main thing each of them is studying in their
       own places, they study in the Tibetan language.' (The Wutun Village)

In (495), the process *jjhang*, 'to study' is temporally unbounded; it has no clear endpoint. Moreover, it has an internal structure of a continuous state that has not been completed. Progressive *-di* marks the situation as a temporally unbounded process, while incompletive *-la* stresses its internal structure as a continuous state that does not lead to completion.

6.4.2.2 Completive-progressive *-gu-di*

Progressive *-di* can be used together with completive *-gu*. The completive-progressive *-gu-di* indicates that the action is in the process of completing right now:

(496) *adia*   *shang-qhi-**gu-di**-da*   *zhawa*
       monk   ascend-go-**COMPL-PROGR**-CONSEQ   disciple

       rolang   *qhe-lai-gu-ma*
       zombie   rise-come-COMPL-COORD
       'When the monk arrived in Tibet, the disciple rose up as a zombie.'
       (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

6.4.2.3 Agent-oriented resultative-progressive *-she-di*

Agent-oriented resultative-progressive *-she-di* expresses that the end state of the Agent is viewed as a continuous, temporally unbounded process:

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(497)	*gu-de*		*xenrada*	*yidaze*	
	that-ATTR		after	all	

	wu-yai-dang	*go-**she-di**-de*		*re*
	five-month-festival	spend-**RES.AO-PROGR**-NMLZ		FACT

'After (Losar) everybody spends the May Festival.' (Village Festivals)

(498)	*gu-duru*	*qhi-ma*	*tio-ma*
	that-PL	go-COORD	dance-COORD

	ddaimu	*da*	*gu-duru*	*kan-**she-di**-de*
	performance	and	that-PL	watch-**RES.AO-PROGR**-NMLZ

	re
	FACT

'(We) will go there (to neighboring villages) and dance (with them), and watch the performances (together).' (Village Festivals)

In (497) and (498) the Agent has reached the end state (celebrating a festival, dancing) due to previous action and the end state of the Agent continues to the future. Celebrating a festival and dancing are viewed as temporally unbounded situations with no clear endpoint. If the end state that the Agent has reached due to previous action is viewed as temporally bounded situation with a clear endpoint (such as drowning in 491 from the Section 6.4.1.4 repeated here as 499), agent-oriented resultative-perfective -*she-lio* must be used:

(499)	*gejhai-na*	*zaibala*	*xhui-li*	*wu-**she-lio***
	self-OBL	almost	water-LOC	drown-**RES.AO-PFV**

'He almost drowned in the water!' (Bike)

6.4.3 Resultative aspect

Patient-oriented resultative aspect marker -*ma* marks the end state of the Patient that has resulted due to past action. It can be used in combination with all the secondary aspect markers, incompletive -*la*, completive -*gu* and agent-oriented resultative -*she*. Incompletive -*la* expresses that the resultative situation has an internal structure of a state or a gradual process, while completive -*gu* marks the internal structure of a resultative situation as a materially bounded event, which has led to a completion and totally affected the object.

Agent-oriented resultative *-she* stresses that the end state of the Patient is due to past actions of the Agent and the Agent has also reached a new end state.

6.4.3.1 Incompletive-patient-oriented resultative *-la-ma*

Incompletive-patient-oriented resultative *-la-ma* indicates that the resultative situation, which has led to an end stage of the Patient, has an internal structure of a state or a process:

(500) *gu*   *yektek-ma*   *ra*   *qaibai-de*
       that   inside-PART   also   different-NMLZ

       ji-la-ma
       divide-INCOMPL-COORD

       gejhai-mu-de   *nga-n-de*   *hua*   *ngoma*
       self-COLL-ATTR   1-COLL-ATTR   speech   base

       *xhong-**la-ma**-de*
       find-**INCOMPL-RES.PO**-NMLZ

       ra   *zai-ma-zai*   *do-li*
       also   so and so   many-SEN.INF
       'There were many (changes) that took place in our language, forming a base for
       our unique vernacular.' (The Wutun Village)

In (500), the resultative situation (the change of the Wutun language over time) is viewed as a gradual process and the speaker makes no reference to its endpoint. Incompletive *-la* stresses the material unboundedness of the situation.

6.4.3.2 Incompletive-agent-oriented resultative-patient-oriented resultative *-la-she-ma*

Sometimes the agent-oriented resultative *-she* is combined with incompletive *-la* and patient-oriented resultative *-ma*, yielding the combination *-la-she-ma*:

(501)   *gejhai-mu-de*   *sanggaixong*
            self-COLL-ATTR   Wutun

            gejhai-mu-de   *rangxhen*   *da*   *qheqi*
            self-COLL-ATTR   nature   and   characteristics

            yek-de   *men-de*
            EXIST-ATTR   like that

            *zhi-**la-she-ma**-de*   *men-de*   *ra*
            become-**INCOMPL-RES.AO-RES.PO**-ATTR like that   also

            hua   *do-li*
            speech   many SEN.INF
            'Our own Wutun language, with its own nature and characteristics, came to
            have many linguistic elements of its own. (The Wutun Village)

Incompletive *-la* marks the internal structure of the situation as a process, agent-oriented resultative *-she* emphasizes that the process has led to a result due to past actions of the Agent and patient-oriented resultative *-ma* marks the end state of the Patient that has resulted due to the process. In example (500) without *-she* in Section 6.4.3.1 the language change is viewed as a process which has led to results, but the speaker makes no reference to the Agent whose action have led to the resultative situation. In example (501) with *-she*, on the other hand, the speaker implies that the language change has resulted due to actions of the speech community.

6.4.3.3 Completive-patient-oriented resultative *-gu-ma*

Patient-oriented resultative *-ma* is often used together with completive *-gu*. Completive-patient-oriented resultative *-gu-ma* marks the resultative situation as materially bounded:

(502)   *ngu-de*   *ana*   *lo-**gu-ma**-li*
            1SG-ATTR   mother   old-**COMPL-RES.PO**-SEN.INF
            'My mother has become old by now.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(503) A: *shaze*
ear (of the wheat)

*be-zhuang-qui-**gu-ma**-li=mu*
NEG-come:out-exit-**COMPL-RES.PO**-SEN.INF=INTERR
'Haven't the ears of the wheat come out already?'

B: *zhuang-qui-**gu-ma**-li*
come:out-exit-**COMPL-RES.PO**-SEN.INF
'Yes, they have come out by now.' (Conversation 1_School)

In (502) and (503), the resultative situation has an internal structure of a bounded event that has been completed and the Patient has undergone a total change of state.

6.4.3.4 Agent-oriented resultative-patient-oriented resultative -*she-ma*

Patient-oriented resultative -*ma* and agent-oriented resultative -*she* are often used together, with -*ma* occurring as the primary aspect marker and -*she* occurring as the secondary aspect marker. The two resultatives provide different perspectives to the event construal. The patient-oriented resultative -*ma* dominates the agent-oriented resultative -*she* and marks the end state of the Patient, while -*she* further emphasizes that the end state of the Patient is due to the previous actions of the Agent (as in 504) or is relevant to the speaker and the hearer (as in 505):

(504) *gejhai*   *mian-ha*   *momo*   *ze-ma*
oneself   flour-OD   steamed bread   do-COORD

*rek-**she-ma**-li*
roll-**RES.AO-RES.PO**-SEN.INF
'S/he rolled the flour into steamed bread.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(505) *je*   *nguiwo*   *gui-**she-ma**-li*
this   thing   expensive-**RES.AO-RES.PO-**SEN.INF
'This thing has become expensive.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (504), for example, -*ma* indicates that the flour has been made into a bread, while -*she* further emphasizes that this end state has resulted due to the actions of the Agent, *gu*, 'him/her.' In (505) the role of the Agent is less obvious, but -*she* could be interpreted as a

marker that emphasizes the relevance of the current state of the Patient to the speech act participants.

6.4.3.5 Agent-oriented resultative-completive-patient-oriented resultative -she-gu-ma

Resultatives -*she* and -*ma* can be used together with the completive -*gu*. When -*gu* is added on the verb, it stresses that the resultative situation is materially bounded and totally affects the entity. Consider:

(506)   *gu*   *gu*   *dan*   *pizek*   *ban-ge*
         3SG   that   bottle   beer   half-REF

         *xhe-**she-gu-ma**-li*
         drink-**RES.AO-COMPL-RES.PO**-SEN.INF
         'S/he drank that bottle of beer half empty.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(507)   *guda*   *she-ge*   *gai-**she-gu-ma**-li*
         there   house-REF   build-**RES.AO-COMPL-RES.PO**-SEN.INF
         'There is a new house built over there.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (506), for example, patient-oriented resultative -*ma* marks the end state of the Patient *dan*, 'bottle'. Completive -*gu* stresses that the event of drinking has been completed and totally affected the Patient. Finally, agent-oriented resultative -*she* stresses that the end state of the Patient has resulted due to the actions of the Agent, *gu*, 'him/her'.

6.4.4 Prospective aspect

Prospective marker -*zhe* expresses future situations, or situations that have already taken place but whose effect continues to the future. In my data, -*zhe* is combined only with perfective -*lio*. Perfective-prospective -*lio-zhe* (Section 6.4.4.1) expresses temporally bounded situations whose effect continues to the future.

6.4.4.1 Perfective-prospective -*lio-zhe*

Perfective -*lio* can be used together with prospective -*zhe*. The perfective-prospective -*lio-zhe* refers to terminated events whose effect continues to the future:

(508)   *ni*   *mashema*   *kuu-**lio-zhe***
          2SG   why   cry-**PFV-PROSP**
          'Why did you start crying (you started crying and you are still crying)?'
          (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(509)   *ni*   *sewo-li*   *ngu*   *xhowo-li*
          2SG   dead-SEN.INF 1SG   alive-SEN.INF

          ngu   *liang-ge-de*   *kancan*
          1SG   two-REF-ATTR   connection

          jhang-de   *hanqai*   *qaitan-**lio-zhe***
          today-ATTR   except   cut-**PFV-PROSP**
          'You are dead and I am alive, our connection will be cut off from today (after cutting it, we will not be in contact any more).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Multiple aspect marking with perfective -*lio* and prospective -*zhe* can be used in past situations (as in 508), and the status of -*zhe* as an aspect marker rather than future tense marker is evident from its use in past contexts.

6.5 Other aspect-marking strategies

In addition to fully grammaticalized aspect markers, Wutun has various constructions based on verbs and auxiliaries that express aspectual meanings. These aspect-marking strategies in Wutun include complement verbs, auxiliaries and reduplicated verbs. While aspect markers discussed in Sections 6.3 and 6.4 only express aspect and they are void of any lexical meaning, aspect-marking strategies discussed in this section add both lexical and aspectual meaning to the construction in which they are used. Complement verbs add lexical meaning to the main verb and at the same time they mark the situation as materially bounded. Durative situations can be expressed by the auxiliary construction based on the verb *co*, 'to sit'. Finally,

reduplicated verbs can express multiplicative aspect. Aspect complements are discussed in Section 6.5.1, durative auxiliary *co* in Section 6.5.2 and reduplicated verbs in Section 6.5.3.

6.5.1 Aspect complements

Aspect complements are partly grammaticalized verbs (such as *do*, 'to get done', *se*, 'to die', *jhan*, 'to see', *qhi*, 'to go') that are used as suffixes after the main verb to express both lexical and aspectual meaning. Most of them still survive as regular full verbs, but when used as complement verbs, they have lost part of their original lexical meaning and become elements whose function is to contribute to the meaning of the main verb (see Section 4.8.1). Examples (510) and (511) illustrate verb complement-constructions:

> (510) *ngu-de*   *la*   *da-**qai**-lio*
>   1SG-ATTR   foot   hit-**get broken**-PFV
>   'My foot got broken.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

> (511) *tianqhe*   *rai-**qhe**-lio*
>   weather   (be) hot-**start**-PFV
>   'The weather started getting hot.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (510) the main event is expressed by the verb *da*, 'to hit', while the complement *qai*, 'to break' specifies the outcome of the main event: the foot that was hit got broken. In (511) the main event is expressed by the adjective *rai*, '(to be) hot' and the complement *qhe* 'to start' (originally based on a motion verb 'to rise') specifies its outcome: the weather has become hot.

In addition to their lexical meaning, complement verbs add secondary aspectual meaning of material boundedness to the construction. Aspect complements are usually used together with the perfective aspect marker *-lio* (as in 510 and 511), which gives the construction the primary aspectual meaning of temporal boundedness: the situation lasted for some time and then terminated. The aspect complement then further specifies that the situation is also materially bounded: the event has been completed and/or it totally affected the Patient. Because aspect complements mark the situation as materially bounded, their meaning is closely related to the completive aspect marker *-gu* (see Section 6.3.2). However,

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completive -*gu* is void of any lexical meaning and specifies only the material boundedness of the situation, while aspect complements also complete the lexical meaning of the main verb and the verb-complement construction often has a holistic, lexical meaning which differs from the meaning of the main verb used without a complement verb. A full list of aspect complements can be found in Section 4.8.1.

6.5.2 Durative auxiliary *co*, 'to sit'

Wutun has an auxiliary *co* based on the Mandarin Chinese verb *zuò* (坐), 'to sit, to stay' (see Section 4.9 for auxiliaries in Wutun). The auxiliary *co* marks durative situations. It can express both prolonged processes (as in 512) or more punctual events that take place continuously over time (as in 513):

(512)	*waixi*	*waixi*	*ngu-de*	*qenca*	*lai-de*
	night	night	1SG-ATTR	near	come-NMLZ

        co-*li*
        DUR-SEN.INF
        '(The zombie) kept on following me in the nighttime…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(513)	*ngu*	*yegai*	*xai-de*	***co**-de*	*yek*
	1SG	letter	write-NMLZ	**DUR**-NMLZ	EXIST

        'I am (continuously) writing letters.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Durative *co* is attached to a nominalized main verb and it takes evidential marking. Sometimes it is nominalized and combined with the existential copula *yek*, which further emphasizes its durative meaning (as in 511).

6.5.3 Reduplication of the verb

Multiplicative aspect in Wutun is expressed by reduplicating the verb. Multiplicative aspect refers to repeated situations that are performed at the same time by identical participants:

(514) *zhawa-de*   *mi-xho-ma-da*
      disciple-ATTR   NEG-(be) good -RES.PO-CONSEQ

      xhen-li~xhen-li   **xhen-li~xhen-li**
      walk-SEN.INF~walk-SEN.INF   **walk-SEN.INF~walk-SEN.INF**

      da   *zhawa*   *mi-wa-la-ma-da*
      then   disciple   NEG -(be) possible-INCOMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ
      'The disciple's (illness) did not get any better, they kept on walking, and then
      the disciple could not walk any more…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(515) *gu-daxi-la-da*   *aba*   *da*   *ngu*   *liang-ge*
      DIST-ADV-ABL-then   father   and   1SG   two-REF

      qhi-li~qhi-li   *da*
      ride-SEN.INF~ride-SEN.INF   then
      'Then father and I kept on riding (a bike).' (Bike)

(516) *gek~gek*   *da-pe-gu-ma-li*
      dog~dog   hit-get broken-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF

      awu-ge-ha **nian-li~nian-li**
      boy-REF-OD **chase-SEN.INF~chase-SEN.INF**
      'The dog broke free and went on chasing the boy.' (Nasty Dog)

In my data, multiplicative aspect often occurred with motion verbs, such as *xhen*, 'to walk'
(as in 514), *qhi*, 'to go, to ride' (as in 515) and *nian*, 'to chase' (as in 516). The reduplicated
verbal stems take evidential marking and the particle *da*, 'then' often follows the
multiplicative aspect construction. Multiplicative aspect resembles habitual aspect expressed
by the primary aspect marker *-di* (see Section 6.2.2) in its meaning: it refers to several
repeated situations instead of one situation. However, while habitual aspect refers to repeated
situations that take place during different periods of time (e.g. going to bed every evening),
multiplicative aspect refers to repeated situations that take place at the same time.

7 Evidentiality and egophoricity

Evidentiality refers to a grammatical category with the source of information as its primary meaning (Aikhenvald 2004: 3, 2014: 1; Peterson, Déchaine and Sauerland 2010: 1). The source of information can be, for example, direct sensory evidence, inference or hearsay. Egophoricity is a closely-related category that expresses the speaker's personal involvement in events or states in contrast to non-involvement. In Wutun the two categories are intertwined. All clauses (with the exception of imperatives, clauses containing a verb marked for prospective aspect and non-final clauses) are divided into two contrasting types: ego and non-ego. Ego clauses indicate the speaker's personal involvement in the event and they are marked by ego evidentials, while non-ego clauses indicate the speaker's non-involvement in the event and they are marked by non-ego evidentials (sensory-inferential or factual). Ego evidentials represent the most direct information source, while non-ego evidentials indicate a less direct information source. Wutun also has a distinct evidential auxiliary for reported information, which is used together with evidentials participating in egophoric marking.

In addition to grammaticalized evidentials, reported speech constructions and quotations are widely used to report what someone else has said and non-evidential categories like non-final verbs and nominalizations can develop evidential overtones in Wutun. I will refer to these as *evidentiality strategies* (as in Aikhenvald 2004: 105). As in many other languages of the world, in Wutun evidential morphemes are scattered to different parts of the grammar without relating to just one type of expression, although they are all associated with knowledge-related meanings. The focus of this chapter is on the evidential and/or egophoric functions of relevant grammatical forms and it includes discussion of verbal suffixes, copula verbs, auxiliaries, as well as clause combining constructions. Section 7.1 introduces the basic egophoric morphology, as well as the reported evidential. Section 7.2 discusses the manipulations of the basic egophoric marking system. Section 7.3 provides a cross-linguistic perspective to egophoricity. Finally, the chapter concludes with the treatment of evidentiality strategies in Section 7.4.

7.1 The basic system

As noted above, Wutun has two evidential subsystems, egophoric marking and reported evidentiality. The basic egophoric morphology is outlined in Section 7.1.1. Egophoric marking in existential, possessive and locative clauses is dealt with in Section 7.1.1.1 and egophoricity and perfective aspect is treated in Section 7.1.1.2. Finally, the reported evidential is discussed in Section 7.1.2.

7.1.1 Basic egophoric morphology

Egophoric marking refers to a grammatical pattern that marks the speaker's involvement in events or states (ego), in contrast to non-involvement (non-ego):

(517)   *ngu*   *huan*   *xhe-di-**yek***
        1SG   food   drink-PROGR-**EGO**
        'I am eating (I know it because I am doing it).' (Cairangji)

(518)   *ni*   *huan*   *xhe-di-**li***
        2SG   food   drink-PROGR-**SEN.INF**
        'You are eating (as I see/infer).' (Cairangji)

(519)   *gu*   *huan*   *xhe-di-**li***
        3SG   food   drink-PROGR-**SEN.INF**
        'S/he is eating (as I see/infer).' (Cairangji)

(520)   *ni*   *ma-ge*   *nian-di-**yek***
        2SG   what-REF   read-PROGR-**EGO**
        'What are you reading? (addressee's personal involvement) (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The pattern was first described by Hale (1980) for Kathmandu Newar, using the term conjunct/disjunct, and the term conjunct/disjunct system is still widely used in typological literature.[13] While in some languages egophoric marking can be seen as a category distinct

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[13] In addition to the terms *conjunct/disjunct* and *egophoricity*, there are also several other terms that different authors use for the phenomenon. These include *locutor/non-locutor*, *congruent/non-congruent* and *assertor's*

from evidentiality (see e.g. Dickinson 2000 for discussion of the Barbacoan language Tsafiki, which has distinct morphological markers for evidentiality and egophoricity), in Wutun evidentiality and egophoric marking are intertwined. The analysis of egophoric marking as an evidentiality system in Wutun is evident from the fact that the speaker's personal involvement in the event (ego) is treated as the most direct information source, and it is contrasted with two types of more indirect information sources, sensory-inferential and factual. I will refer to it as *ego evidentiality*. Therefore, although it is useful to make a distinction between evidentiality and egophoric marking on the conceptual level, in my description of Wutun system I will treat egophoric marking as a special type of evidentiality system in which the most direct, unmarked information source is the speaker's volitional involvement in the event or state. Equivalent analysis for the category in Tibetic languages have been proposed by Garrett (2001) and Tournadre (2008), who define egophoric or ego evidential as expressing speaker's personal knowledge.

Ego evidentiality in Wutun is expressed by the suffix *-yek* based on the existential copula *yek* (Mandarin Chinese existential copula *yǒu* 有). The copula has an evidential value, and it is used in existential, locative and possessive clauses to express both existential predication and the speaker's involvement in the event (see Section 7.1.1.1). Ego evidential marking is partly intertwined with perfective aspect. The perfective aspect marker *-lio* without overt evidential marking expresses both termination of the event and ego evidentiality (see Section 7.1.1.2). Sensory-inferential evidentiality is expressed by the suffix *-li* (possibly based on Mandarin Chinese modal particle *le*[14] 了 or the motion verb *lái* 来), while factual evidentiality is expressed by the auxiliary *re* (a grammatical borrowing from Amdo Tibetan copula *re*, which expresses both equative predication and factual statements). Wutun egophoric morphology is summarized by Table 23.

Table 23. *Egophoric morphology*

-*yek*	EGO	ego evidential
yek	EXIST	ego existential copula, indicates both existential predication and ego evidentiality
-*lio*	PFV	ego perfective, indicates both termination of the event and ego evidentiality
-*li*	SEN.INF	sensory-inferential evidential
re	FACT	factual evidential auxiliary

In Wutun, all the statements (except clause types that do not allow egophoric marking, such as imperatives) are divided into two contrasting types: ego, marked by ego evidentials and non-ego, marked by non-ego evidentials (sensory-inferential or factual evidentials). Ego-evidentials are typically used with the first person in statements when the action is volitional and allows the speaker's control (as in 521). Sensory-inferential and factual evidentials are typically used with the second and third person in statements (as in 522-524). The factual auxiliary *re* is connected to the preceding verb with the nominalizer -*de*. Consider:

(521) *je*   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-**yek***
       this   1SG   book   EQU-**EGO**
       'This is my book. (speaker's personal involvement) (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(522) *je*   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-**li***
       this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**SEN.INF**
       'This is your book.' (as I see/infer) (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(523) *je*   *gu-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-**li***
       this   3SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**SEN.INF**
       'This is his/her book.' (as I see/infer) (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(524) *alak-de*   *gu*   *hong*   *hai-**de***   ***re***
       lama-ATTR   that   lie   EQU-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
       'What the lama is saying is a lie.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Evidentials participating in egophoric marking system express how directly the speaker has been involved in the event or state and, accordingly, how direct the speaker's evidence is for his/her statement. Ego evidentiality represents the most immediate source of information: the speaker knows something because s/he has volitionally instigated the event or is in a certain state. Because we are most aware of our own volitionality, ego evidentials are typically used

in first person statements as opposed to non-first person statements. Sensory-inferential evidentiality indicates that the speaker has either direct sensory evidence or inferential evidence for the event, and is therefore involved as an observer but not as a volitional instigator of the event. Factual evidentiality indicates that the speaker makes statements based on common knowledge. It should be noted that the factual evidential has a different morphological structure from the ego evidential -*yek* and the sensory-inferential evidential -*li*. The first two are suffixes, while the factual evidential *re* is an auxiliary connected to the main verb by the nominalizer (see Section 4.9 on auxiliaries). However, I have included it to the discussion of evidentials here because its function is also related to the information source and the speaker's access to the instigation of the event.

In addition to the speaker, ego evidentials can also be used when talking about "extensions" of the speaker, like close family members (as in 525) or belongings (as in 526):

(525) *nga-n-de*   *aba*   *chuang*   *she*   *ra*
       1-COLL-ATTR   father   bed   on   even

       za-de   **yek**
       smoke-NMLZ   **EXIST**
       'Our father even smokes in bed.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(526) *je*   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-yek*
       this   1SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**EGO**
       'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In questions, the perspective is reversed: ego evidentials are used with the second person (as in 527), while the sensory-inferential evidential is used with the first person (as in 528):

(527) C: *ni*   *yan*   *za-de*   **yek**   *ya*
                2SG   tobacco   smoke-NMLZ   **EXIST**   EMPH
                'You smoke, don't you?'

       D: *mi-yek*
                NEG.EXIST-**EGO**
                'No, I don't.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(528) A: *nga-mu*   *liang-ge-de*   *tangga*
           1-COLL   two-REF-ATTR   thangka

           jhi-ge   *yai*
           how many-REF   month

           wanlan-lio   **ze-li**
           do-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
           'For how many months have our thangkas been made?'
           (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

There are some clause types and grammatical markers that do not allow egophoric marking. Egophoricity is not marked in imperatives:

(529) *aba*   *nga*   *yiqang*   *din-da*
       father   1SG.OBL   a:while   wait-**IMP**
       'Father, wait for me!' (Bike)

Egophoric marking is not used with the prospective aspect marker -*zhe*, possibly because of its implicit future reference:

(530) *ngu*   *qhi-zhe*
       1SG   go-**PROSP**
       'I will go (now).' (Conversation 1_School)

Finally, the interrogative clitic =*a* can be combined with the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* but not with the ego evidential -*yek* (this causes paradigmatic asymmetry between declaratives and interrogatives; see Section 9.1.1 for discussion). With the interrogative clitic =*a*, the sensory-inferential evidential is also used in second person questions that would otherwise allow the use of the ego evidential:

(531) *je*   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-li-a*
       this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**SEN.INF**=INTERR
       'Is this your book?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Sometimes the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* is merged with the question marker =a, yielding the form -*la* which expresses both evidentiality and interrogation:

(532)   *ni-de*   *aba*   *yi*   *tian*   *yi*   *poqia*

           2SG-ATTR   father   one   day   one   package

           *gek-**la***

           (be) enough-**SEN.INF.INTERR**

           'Is one package (of cigarettes) a day enough for your father?' (Conversation
           2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

7.1.2 Egophoric marking in existential copula clauses

In existential, locative or possessive clauses, ego evidentiality is marked by the existential copula verb *yek* (as in 533 and 534):

(533)   *nga-ha*   *ma*   *liang-ge*   ***yek***

           1SG.OBL-OD   horse   two-REF   **EXIST**

           'I have two horses.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(534)   *ni*   *chuang*   *she*   *za-de*

           2SG   bed   on   smoke-NMLZ

           yek   *ya*

           EXIST   EMPH

           'Do you smoke in the bed?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Sensory-inferential evidentiality in existential, locative or possessive clauses is indicated by attaching the suffix *-li* to the existential copula *yek* (as in 535), and factual evidentiality is expressed by connecting the factual auxiliary *re* with the existential copula *yek* by the nominalizer *-de* (as in 536):

(535)   *gu-n-de*   *awu-ha*   *huaiqa-ge*   ***yek-li***

           3-COLL-ATTR   boy-OD   book-REF   **EXIST-SEN.INF**

           'Their boy has a book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(536)   *nianha*   *she-wu*   *tian*   ***yek-de***   *re*

           blind eye   ten-five   day   **EXIST-NMLZ FACT**

           'The Losar festival lasts for fifteen days.'(Village Festivals)

The copula *yek* has a default ego meaning, and it is never combined with the ego suffix *-yek*. This may be due to the fact that the existential copula *yek* is most probably a diachronic source for the more grammaticalized ego evidential marker *-yek*. Due to Tibetan influence, the existential copula in Wutun has developed evidential overtones and given rise to a fully grammaticalized evidential marker and the old and the new functions still co-exist in the language.

7.1.3 Egophoric marking and perfective aspect

In terms of perfective aspect, egophoricity is marked differently from other aspects. The perfective aspect marker *-lio* is never combined with the ego evidential marker *-yek*. The perfective aspect marker with no overt evidential marking expresses both the termination of the event and ego evidentiality, and it is typically used with first person in statements and second person in questions (as in 537 and 538):

(537)   *ngu*   *huan*   *xhe-she-**lio***
          1SG   food   drink-RES.AO-**PFV**
          'I have eaten.' (Cairangji)

(538)   *ni*   *ma-ge*   *xai-**lio***
          2SG   what-REF   write-**PFV**
          'What did you write (at school)?' (Conversation 1_School)

With non-first person statements the perfective aspect marker *-lio* is often used together with the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* (as in 539) or the factual evidential *re* (as in 540):

(539)   *gu*   *huan*   *xhe-she-**lio***   ***ze-li***
          3SG   food   drink-RES.AO-**PFV**   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
          'S/he has eaten.' (Cairangji)

(540)   *gu*   *mak*   *dang-**lio-de***   ***re***
          3SG   soldier   act-**PFV-NMLZ**   **FACT**
          'S/he has (certainly) been a soldier.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The perfective aspect marker *-lio* cannot directly take the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*. When the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* is combined with perfective *-lio*, it must be used together with the executive auxiliary verb *ze* (< Mandarin Chinese verb *zuò* 做, 'to do'), which forms a base for the sensory-inferential evidential. The factual auxiliary *re* is connected to the perfective aspect marker with the nominalizer *-de*.

7.2 Reported evidentiality

In addition to ego, sensory-inferential and factual evidentials, Wutun has a distinct evidential for reported information. It indicates that the speaker bases his/her statement on the information spoken by a third party and has no immediate access to the event through participation, observation or inference. The reported evidential in Wutun is based on the auxiliary *sho*, which is a grammaticalized form of the full lexical verb *sho* 'to say, to speak' and a cognate of the Standard Mandarin verb *shuō* (说) 'to say, to speak'. When used as a reported evidential, this auxiliary is used in combination with the sensory-inferential marker *-li*, resulting in the form *sho-li* 'they say'. Sometimes the progressive marker *-di* is added, yielding the form *-sho-di-li*. So far, I have not found any functional differences between the two forms.

Example (541) illustrates the sentence without reported evidential. The speaker expresses his/her visual evidence for the statement using the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*. Example (542), on the other hand, illustrates the sentence with a reported evidential. The speaker uses the reported evidential *sho-li* to express hearsay evidence, while the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* expresses the information source of the person who originally reported the information to the speaker:

(541) *gu*   *she*   *zha-gu-lio*   ***ze-li***
       that   house   explode-COMPL-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
       'That house exploded (I saw it).' (Cairangji)

(542) | *gu* | *she* | *zha-gu-lio* | ***ze-li***
       | that | house | explode-COMPL-PFV | **EXEC-SEN.INF**

sho-li
REP-SEN.INF
'That house exploded, they say (I heard it from other people who saw it).'
(Cairangji)

The reported auxiliary *sho* marks both direct and indirect quotations. It forms an evidential subsystem distinct from egophoric marking, and it is used in combination with ego, sensory-inferential or factual evidential. When evidentials related to egophoricity are used together with the reported evidential, the sentence represents multiple perspectives to the information source (as in Evans 2007: 101, who discusses examples of nested evidentials expressing different knowledge sources in a metarepresentation). The reported evidential represents the information source of the speaker, while the evidential participating in egophoric marking represents the information source of the person who originally reported the information.

Reported evidential is often used in folktale narratives. The reported evidential in the example (543) represents the viewpoint of the storyteller, while the factual evidential *re* represents the viewpoint of the characters of the story who regard the knowledge about travelling to Tibet as common knowledge in the community:

(543) | *zang-li* | *do-tala* | *san-ge* | *yai-ma* | *she-wu*
       | Tibet-LOC | arrive-TERM | three-REF | month-and | ten-five

| *tian* | *xhen-dio-de* | ***re*** | ***sho-li***
| day | walk-NEC-NMLZ | **FACT** | **REP-SEN.INF**

'In order to arrive to Tibet, you had to walk three months and fifteen days (I have been told this fact).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Like other languages with egophoricity, in Wutun the ego evidential in reported clauses indicates that the person who is the source of the reported information and the person whose speech is quoted are co-referential, while the sensory-inferential evidential indicates that they are not co-referential:

(544) | *huan* | *xhe-di-**yek*** | *sho-li*
       | food | drink-PROGR-**EGO** | REP-SEN.INF

'S/he$_x$ says s/he$_x$ is eating.' (Cairangji)

(545) *huan*   *xhe-di-**li***   *sho-li*
       food   drink-PROGR-**SEN.INF**   REP-SEN.INF
       'S/he$_x$ says s/he$_y$ is eating.' (Cairangji)

The forms *sho-li* and *sho-di-li* are possibly in the process of grammaticalizing into sentence-final evidential particles. The reported evidential in Wutun represents replication of the Amdo Tibetan grammatical pattern. Amdo Tibetan has a reported evidential *se*, which is based on the verb 'to speak' (Sun 1993: 987). Examples of sentence-final evidential particles based on the verb 'say' are also found in several other languages of the Amdo Sprachbund. For example, the Mongolic language Mangghuer has an emerging hearsay evidential particle *gelang*, based on the verb *ge*, 'to say' and the objective perspective and imperfective aspect marker *lang*, which marks the speaker's non-involvement in the event (Slater 2003: 156; Slater and Wang: forthcoming).

7.3 Manipulations of the basic system

Egophoric marking in Wutun shows strong correlation with person, but is not entirely tied to it. The basic system can be manipulated on the basis of discourse-pragmatic reasons. When examining manipulations of the basic system, it is necessary to consider the perspective of both the speaker and the addressee. From the speaker-oriented perspective, the manipulations of the basic system can be explained on the basis of speaker involvement. The ego evidential with a non-first person indicates that the speaker for some reason has been involved in the events or states concerning the other participants in the conversation and therefore has access to their instigation, while the sensory-inferential evidential with the first person indicates that the speaker for some reason did not intentionally initiate the event in which s/he was involved and/or does not take full responsibility for it. Because ego evidential implies privileged access to the instigation of the event, it is typically used in making strongly asserted statements with a high degree of certainty and commitment to the statement. The sensory-inferential evidential, on the other hand, implies no privileged access to the instigation of the event and therefore it is typically used in weakly asserted statements to express lack of commitment to the statement, uncertainty or politeness. From the intersubjective perspective, it is necessary to consider whether the speaker thinks that the information is expected also

from the perspective of the addressee. While the ego evidential and sensory-inferential evidential indicate asymmetry in information access between speech act participants, the factual evidential can imply shared information between the speaker and the addressee (complex intersubjective perspective, see Evans 2007). Section 7.2.1 discusses the uses of sensory-inferential with first person and Section 7.2.2 deals with the uses of ego evidentials with non-first persons. Section 7.2.3 then concludes with a discussion of the uses of factual evidential in questions and first person statements.

7.3.1 Sensory-inferential evidentiality and first person

The sensory-inferential evidential -*li* indicates that the speaker has either observed or inferred the event, but has not intentionally initiated it and therefore has no privileged access to its instigation. This form of evidential is typically used with non-first persons in statements. The sensory-inferential evidential is, however, often used with the first person to express non-volitionality and mirativity (Section 7.2.1.1) or general lack of commitment to the statement (Section 7.2.1.2).

7.3.1.1 Non-volitionality and mirativity

The sensory-inferential evidential -*li* is used with the first person when the speaker has not intentionally initiated the event. This is the case with verbs denoting inherently non-volitional states or processes, such as bodily processes (e.g. *kunman*, '(to be) tired' and *tin*, 'to hurt, to be sick' in 546), emotions (e.g. *gga*, 'to like, to love' in 547) or cognitive processes (e.g. *ghong*, 'to forget' in 548):

(546) *menzai*   *yi-ge*   *sho-de*   *shaida*
like that   one-REF   say-ATTR   time

nga   *xaige*   *kunman-ma-**li***
1SG.OBL   very   tired-RES.PO-**SEN.INF**

ngu-de   *jho*   *ya*   *tin-ma*
1SG-ATTR   foot   also   hurt-COORD

*ma-la-**li***
be impossible-INCOMPL-**SEN.INF**
'As I was saying that, I was very tired and my feet were killing me.' (Picnic)

(547) *ngu*   *yen-yek*   *jjhang-la-de*
1SG   English-language   study-INCOMPL-NMLZ

*gga-la-**li***
like-INCOMPL-**SEN.INF**
'I like studying English.' (Janhunen 2009: 132, *my glosses*)

(548) A: *cairang*   *ma-ge*   *xai-ma-li*
        Cairang   what-REF   write-RES.PO-SEN.INF
        'What did Cairang write (at the school)?'

        C: *ghong-gu-lio*   ***ze-li***
            forget-COMPL-PFV   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
            'I have forgotten (it).' (Conversation1_School)

With internal states like feeling tired, or cognitive processes like forgetting, the speaker is able to observe his/her state, but has not intentionally initiated it, and has no full control over it. Therefore, the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* is used instead of ego evidential *-yek*.

However, if the internal state occurs regularly and the speaker knows to expect it and can make a strong claim of its occurrence on the basis of inference from previous experience (e.g. the speaker always feels hungry at the same time of the day), both the sensory-inferential evidential (as in 549) and the ego-evidential (as in 550) can be used:

(549) *xongwu*   *dico*   *liang*   *dian*   *shai*   *nga*
afternoon   o'clock   two   o'clock   time   1SG.OBL

*e-**li***
hungry-**SEN.INF**
'I am hungry every afternoon at two o'clock.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(550)	*xongwu*	*dico*	*liang*	*dian*	*shai*	*nga*
	afternoon	o'clock	two	o'clock	time	1SG.OBL

e-yek
hungry-**EGO**
'I am hungry every afternoon at two o'clock.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Because the verb *e*, '(to be) hungry' expresses inherently non-volitional state, typically occurs with the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* even with first person. However, if the speaker wishes to emphasize that s/he has experienced the situation several times before and therefore knows to expect it, the ego evidential *-yek* is used even with first person non-volitional state.

Moreover, the sensory-inferential evidential with first person can be used to express mirativity (as in 551). Mirativity refers to the grammatical marking of information as something new and unexpected for the speaker, which is not integrated yet into the speaker's overall picture of the world (DeLancey 1997: 36)). Consider:

(551)	*je*	*ngu-de*	*huaiqa*	*hai-yek*
	this	1SG-ATTR	book	EQU-**EGO**

'This is my book.' (I was all the time aware that it is mine). (Cairangji)

(552)	*anene*	*je*	*huaiqa*	*ngu-de*	*hai-li*
	INTJ	this	book	1SG-ATTR	EQU-**SEN.INF**

'Oh, this book is mine!' (I did not expect it to be mine!) (Cairangji)

The example (551) could be spoken in a context where the speaker has all the time been aware that the book is his/hers, while the example (552) could be spoken in a context where the speaker picks up a book from the table and discovers that the book is his/hers, although s/he did not expect it to be. The use of sensory-inferential evidential in (551) is accompanied with a change in word order and the interjection *anene*, expressing surprise. However, in Wutun mirativity could be also expressed by the change in evidential marking only, and the use of exclamative in mirative sentences is optional.

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The sensory-inferential evidential *-li* with first person can be used as a general distancing mechanism to express both new and unexpected information, as well as situations belonging to the distant past:

(553)   *ngu*   *(cakara)*   *gu*   *chabi*   *da-pe-**lio***
        1SG   (for purpose) that   teacup   hit-break-**PFV**
        'I have broken that teacup (I just did it and I did it intentionally).' (Cairangji)

(554)   *ngu*   (ra)   *gu*   *chabi*   *da-pe-lio*
        1SG   also   that   teacup   hit-break-PFV

        ze-li
        EXEC-SEN.INF
        A. 'I have broken that teacup!' (I did it unintentionally).
        B. 'I have broken that teacup before.' (I did it a long time ago). (Cairangji)

Example (553) could be uttered in a context where the speaker has just intentionally broken a teacup (e.g. because of being angry), while the example (554) has two possible interpretations. It could be said in a context where the speaker sees pieces of a cup on the floor and infers that s/he must have unintentionally broken it. It could also be used in a context where the speaker tells somebody, 'I have broken that teacup also before,' referring to an event that belongs to the distant past.

When expressing first person's lack of volitionality, egophoric marking in Wutun interacts with oblique case marking. Oblique case marking is used with first and second person pronouns when they have a semantic role other than intentional Agent (see Sections 3.6.1.1 and 8.2.2). The interaction of case marking with egophoric marking allows Wutun to make a three-way distinction between volitional and controlled situations, non-volitional situations that potentially allow the speaker's control and situations that are completely non-volitional and beyond the speaker's control. Example (553) presents a volitional and controlled event. The first person pronoun takes the basic nominative form and the verb occurs with the ego evidential. Example (554) presents a non-volitional, uncontrolled event that potentially allows the speaker's control. The pronoun retains its nominative form, but the verb takes the sensory-inferential evidential instead of the ego evidential. When the situation is completely non-volitional and beyond the speaker's control (such as internal state *tin*, 'to be sick' in 555), the verb occurs with the sensory-inferential evidential and the case marking of the first person pronoun changes from nominative to oblique:

(555)   **nga**   *tin-**li***
         1SG.OBL   (to be) sick-**SEN.INF**
         'I am sick.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Examples (553)-(555) illustrate that in Wutun volitionality is not treated as a dichotomous notion, but rather as a continuum. Combinations of evidential and case marking make it possible to express different degrees of volitionality explicitly by means of grammatical marking.

7.3.1.2 Lack of commitment to the statement

The sensory-inferential evidential *-li* in conversation often signals that the speaker is hesitating or does not want to make strong claims about the other person's actions (as in 556 below):

(556)   C: *ni-de*   *cairang*   *je*   *nian*
                  2SG-ATTR   Cairang   this   year

                  yenze   *cemu-ge*   *jua-ma*   *lai-de*   *re*
                  money   some-REF   get-COORD   come-NMLZ   FACT
                  'This year Cairang from your family will earn quite a lot of
                  money.'

         D: *be-jedo-**li***   *da*
                  NEG-know-**SEN.INF**   then

                  gu-jhege-de   *tangga*   *be-xho-**li***
                  3-PAUC-ATTR   thangka   NEG-good-**SEN.INF**

                  ba
                  PROB
                  'I don't know about that. Their thangka is not very good, I guess.'
                  (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

In (556), the speaker D is uncertain about his family member's ability to earn money, and he uses *-li* to express lack of commitment to his statement. The use of *-li* instead of *-yek* may also be motivated by a desire to be modest and not to be seen as bragging, and the use of *-li*, which is associated with uncertainty, may be considered as a strategy of showing politeness.

The lack of commitment to the statement is further reinforced by the use of the final particle *ba*, which expresses uncertainty.

In general, ego evidential is used in strongly asserted statements, and it can be used when the speaker wishes to promise something to the addressee (as in 557). Sensory-inferential evidential is used in more weakly asserted statements, and does not indicate promise (as in 558):

(557) *menzo*   *ngu*   *ni-de*   *she-li*   *lai-yek*
       tomorrow   1SG   2SG-ATTR   house-LOC   come-**EGO**
       'Tomorrow I will come to your home (I promise you).' (Cairangji)

(558) *menzo*   *ngu*   *ni-de*   *she-li*   *lai-li*
       tomorrow   1SG   2SG-ATTR   house-LOC   come-**SEN.INF**
       'Tomorrow I will come to your home (I am just thinking).' (Cairangji)

In (557), the speaker promises to the addressee to come to his/her home and s/he makes this strongly asserted statement by using the ego evidential -*yek*. In (558) the speaker is thinking of going to the other person's home, but does not make a promise and has not necessarily even told his/her intention to the other person. Therefore, the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* is used instead of ego evidential -*yek*.

7.3.2 Ego evidentiality and non-first persons

In most situations, we are only aware of the instigation of our actions, and ego evidentials are therefore used with first person. However, ego evidentials can also be used with non-first persons when the speaker for some reason has access to the initiation of an event or state concerning another person. Ego evidentials can be used with non-first person in performatives (Section 7.2.2.1) and in cases where the speaker is in a position of making statements about the instigation of other person's actions. Strengthened certainty about other person's actions allows the speaker to make strongly asserted statements that can be a powerful tool in the discourse (see Section 7.2.2.2).

7.3.2.1 Performatives

Ego evidentials can be used with non-first person in performatives, in which the speaker has influenced the state-of-affairs concerning another person. Consider the examples (559) and (560):

(559)   *modo*   *je*   *ni-de*   *hai-**li***
        motorcycle   this   2SG-ATTR   EQU-**SEN-INF**
        'This is your motorcycle (the one you are looking for).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(560)   *modo*   *je*   *ni-de*   *hai-**yek***
        motorcycle   this   2SG-ATTR   EQU-**EGO**
        'This is your motorcycle (I am giving it to you).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The example (559) could be uttered in a context where the addressee is looking for his/her motorcycle among several other motorcycles and the speaker, seeing the motorcycle of the addressee, says: 'This one is yours.' The second example (560), on the other hand, could be uttered in a context where the speaker is giving a motorcycle to the addressee as a gift. The instigation of the event of giving involves the speaker, so the ego-evidential *-yek* is used instead of the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* to express the high degree of personal involvement.

7.3.2.2 Strengthened assertion/certainty

Ego evidentials can be used with non-first persons to express a high degree of certainty concerning other person's actions. An example provided by (561) is taken from a folktale legend and it involves a conversation between two characters in the story, a monk from Wutun and a high Tibetan lama living in Lhasa:

(561) *ni*   *gu*   *liang-ge*   *da*
       2SG   3SG   two-REF   then

       jhang-de   *hanqai-la*   *da*   *gu*   *be-lai-yek*
       today-ATTR   except-ABL   then   3SG   NEG-come-**EGO**

       caixi-la   *da*   *gu*   *be-lai-yek*
       tonight-ABL then   3SG   NEG-come-**EGO**

       ni   *haipa-de*   *bai-yek*   *sho-ma*
       2SG   fear-NMLZ   EXIST.NEG-**EGO**   QUOT-RES
       'As for you and him, from today he will not come (anymore); after tonight he
       will not come (anymore). You don't have to be afraid (the lama) said'. (ELDP,
       corpus WT09_4)

Originally, the monk left with his disciple on a pilgrimage to Lhasa. The disciple fell ill and died, and then rose up as a zombie. He began chasing and threatening the monk. The lama in Lhasa told the monk to perform a special ritual to get rid of the zombie, and the monk then performed the ritual. When the monk goes to see the lama again, after performing the ritual, and reports that he did everything exactly according to the lama's instructions, the lama replies to the monk using the ego evidential with the third person. Because the lama is actively involved in helping to get rid of the zombie, he therefore has an access to the initiation of the zombie's actions. Unlike ordinary people, the lama is a respected religious authority who can affect other people's destinies and make predictions on the future. Therefore, he has the authority to make strong claims about other people's actions or states. In (561), there is an asymmetry in power relations between the speaker and the addressee; the speaker is in a much higher social position than the addressee, and this authority granted by high social position allows the speaker to make strong claims using the ego evidential -*yek*.

In earlier works on egophoricity in Tibetan (Delancey 1986; 1990), ego evidentiality has been described as representing old and expected information. This is essentially a speaker-oriented perspective; the Wutun example (561) includes information, which is known to the speaker, but not to the addressee. Therefore, the ego evidential represents asymmetry in information access between the speech act participants. Because the ego evidential can express strong commitment on the part of the speaker and asymmetric information access between the speaker and the addressee, it is a powerful discourse tool that allows the speaker to convince the addressee or to correct the addressee's false beliefs.

7.3.3 Factual evidentiality in questions and first person statements

The factual evidential *re* is used in statements made on the basis of generally known facts. In (562) factual *re* expresses shared knowledge that is supposed to be accessible for all the participants in the conversational context, while in (563) it is used for communication of old, historical facts:

(562)   *yidaze*   *jedo-gu-ma-da*
        all   know-COMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

        ma-ge   *mi-xho-**de***   ***re***   *ya*
        some-REF   NEG-good-**NMLZ**   **FACT**   EMPH
        'Everybody knows (that), so (the prices of the thangkas) (certainly) are not
        very good (right now).' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(563)   *dangma*   *zang*   *do-tala*
        long ago   Tibet   arrive-TERM

        san-ge   *yai-ma*   *she-wu*
        three-REF   month-COORD   ten-five

        tian   *yo-**de***   ***re***
        day   NEC-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
        'In those days, in order to arrive in Tibet, you needed three months and fifteen
        days.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In the case of factual statements, the speaker assumes the information to be generally known in the speech community, or the source of the information is irrelevant in the current conversational context. The speaker may have accumulated knowledge of the topic over a long period of time and from various sources (by means of both personal involvement and observation), as in the case of village festivals, thangka painting and other cultural traditions shared by the community. Therefore, factual evidential is the neutral form in the evidentiality system. When using the factual evidential, the speaker does not specify whether s/he has been involved in the event as a volitional instigator or as an observer. While ego evidentials and sensory-inferential evidential typically express asymmetric information access between speech act participants, factual evidential often refers to common knowledge that the speaker expects the addressee to know and it can be used to encode symmetric information access between speech act participants.

Factual evidential is usually used in non-first person statements. However, it can also be used in questions that are not true requests for information (Section 7.2.3.1) and in first person statements in reminding about common ground (Section 7.2.3.2).

7.3.3.1 Questions

Factual evidential *re* can be used in questions. The questions with factual evidential differ from questions that are true requests for information. In my data, factual evidential was used in questions with an obvious answer, as in (564):

<blockquote>

(564)   B: *gu-jhege*   *metok-de*   *tangga*   *wanlan-di-li*
                3-PAUC   pearl-ATTR   thangka   do-PROGR-SEN-INF

              yenze   *do-li*   *sho-di-li*
              money   a lot of-SEN.INF   REP-PROGR-SEN.INF
              'They have been making a pearl thangka. They got a lot of money, they say.'

        C: *gu*   *a-menzai*   *wanlan-de*   *yo-de*   *re*
              that   how   make-NMLZ   NEC-**NMLZ** **FACT**
              'How do you make that thing (the pearl thangka)?'

        D: *metok-ha*   *yida*   *chuan-she-de*
              pearl-OD   together   strand-RES.AO-NMLZ

              yo-de   *re*
              NEC-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
              'The pearls must be bound together into strands.'
              (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

</blockquote>

In (564), three male speakers discuss the technique of making pearl thangkas. Almost all males in Wutun-speaking villages make thangkas; they are familiar with different types of thangkas and the techniques of making them. It is unlikely that speaker C does not actually know how to make a pearl thangka; it is probably the case that he just wants the other speakers to continue talking about the topic and, therefore, points to the topic with a question marked with the factual evidential.

(565)   *nia*   *zang*   *jja-la-de*   *lai*
          2SG.OBL   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-NMLZ   destiny

          yek-ma   *nga*   *a-menzai-li*
          EXIST-COORD   1SG.OBL   how-SEN.INF

          mi-lio-de   *re*
          EXIST.NEG-PFV-**NMLZ**   **FACT**
          'If you have the destiny of visiting Tibet, why wouldn't I have it?' (ELDP,
          corpus WT09_4)

Example (565) was spoken in a context of a folktale narrative. A lama has told a young monk that he should not go to Lhasa, and an older monk tries to convince the disciple that it is not his destiny to go there. However, the disciple does not listen to the advice, and challenges the monk by using a rhetorical question with a factual evidential. Examples (562) and (563) illustrate that questions with factual evidential are rhetorical in nature, rather than true requests for new information. More examples on rhetorical questions are found in Section 9.1.4

7.3.3.2 Reminding about forgotten common ground

Factual evidential can be used in first person statements when the speaker wants to remind the addressee about forgotten common ground. Example (566) comes from a folktale legend, involving a conversation between a monk and a zombie. Originally, the monk and his disciple were planning to go on a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and they asked a lama whether it was their destiny to go to there. The lama told the monk that it was his destiny to go to Lhasa, but the disciple should not go. The disciple did not follow the advice, and he left with the monk. Halfway to Lhasa, the disciple fell ill and died. After the monk had buried him, he rose up as a zombie and began chasing the monk, saying:

(566) | *din* | *adia* | *ni* | *din-da* |
| wait | monk | 2SG | wait-IMP |

| *marai* | *mende* | *jjhenzzhi* | *mi-de* |
| why | like that | reason | EXIST.NEG-NMLZ |

| *chaimai* | *dang-de* |
| shameless | act-NMLZ |

| *ngu* | *yiqang* | *koshe-lio-**de*** | ***re*** | *ya* |
| 1SG | a while | sleep-PFV-NMLZ | **FACT** | EMPH |

'Wait, monk, wait! Why are you acting so shamelessly? I just slept for a while.'
(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

According to the story (which serves as context for example 566), it is a generally known fact that dead people often rise up as zombies. Therefore, the zombie regards his resurrection as an inevitable fact that just occurs; it is not a question of volitionality. This epistemic stance is indicated by the use of the factual evidential and the emphatic final particle *ya*, which expresses a high degree of certainty. Moreover, the use of the factual evidential *re* instead of the ego evidential -*yek* or sensory-inferential evidential -*li* in a first person statement indicates symmetric information access between speech act participants. In the context of example (566), the zombie expects the monk to know that he will eventually rise up; therefore, he is annoyed when the monk removes his clothes, buries him and leaves. The use of the factual evidential stresses the speaker's expectations about the addressee's access to information. Another example is provided by (567):

(567) | *jhang* | *ngu* | *nia* | *ban-tian-na* |
| today | 1SG | 2SG.OBL | half-day-DISTR |

| *din-lio-**de*** | ***re*** |
| wait-PFV-**NMLZ** | **FACT** |

'Today I have been waiting for you for ages (as you surely know).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Example (567) could be uttered in a context where the speaker reminds the addressee about shared knowledge and expresses his annoyance because of addressee's ignorance of it. Shared knowledge and the speaker stance can also be expressed by non-embedded nominalized clauses (see Section 7.4.3).

7.4 Egophoricity in cross-linguistic perspective

Egophoricity is one of the most prominent Tibetan features in Wutun, and it has most probably been introduced to Wutun due to language contact with local Amdo Tibetan varieties. Egophoric marking systems have been documented in various languages belonging to the Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, the Lolo-Burmese language Akha, (Delancey 1992; Bickel 2000, 2008) as well as Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1980, Hargreaves 2003: 376). Traits of egophoric marking can also be found in the person agreement system of Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2007: 174). Recently discovered egophoric marking systems in Tibeto-Burman languages include those of Kurtöp (East Bodish, Hyslop 2011: 588), Yongning Na (unclassified, Lidz 2010: 498) and Bunan (Wiedmer 2014). The coding of egophoricity in modern Bodic languages vary, but in general there is no sharp distinction between evidentiality and egophoricity and the speaker's volitional involvement in the situation (ego evidentiality) is contrasted with other types of evidence, such as sensory evidence, inference and common knowledge. In Lhasa Tibetan, evidentiality is expressed by an elaborate system of copula verbs and verbal suffixes, and it involves a distinction between ego-evidentiality, direct evidentiality and indirect evidentiality (see Garrett 2001; Tournadre 2008). Ego evidentials are usually used in first person statements and second person questions, while direct and indirect evidentials are used with non-first person statements and first person questions.

Studies on evidentiality/egophoricity in various dialects of Amdo Tibetan are scarce. The most detailed and current description of the Amdo Tibetan system is the treatment of Mdzo-dge dialect by Sun (1993). Although Mdzo-dge dialect is a variety of Amdo Tibetan spoken in Sichuan and it is only marginally part of the Amdo Sprachbund, I will discuss it here because the evidential systems of other varieties have not been adequately described. Mdzo-dge Amdo Tibetan makes a grammatical distinction between ego (first person statements and second person questions) and non-ego (non-first person statements and first person questions) contexts. In non-ego contexts, it is possible to mark direct, indirect, immediate or factual evidence. In addition, reported information can be marked by an auxiliary that does not participate in the egophoric marking system:

Mdzo-dge Amdo Tibetan (Sun 1993: 950, 956):

(568)   a.   *ŋæ*   *xabda*   *sʰoŋ=ŋə*
                   1SG.ABS   deer-chase.DAT   go.COMPL=PART
                   'I went deer-hunting.'

         b.   *tʂaɛʰi=kə*   *ʰtæ*   *ŋu=**tʰæ***
                 Bkra-shis=ERG   horse   buy.COMPL=**DIR**
                 'Bkra-shis bought a horse (I saw it).'

         c.   *tʂaɛʰi=kə*   *ʰtæ*   *ŋu=**zəg***
                 Bkra-shis=ERG   horse   buy.COMPL=**INDIR**
                 'Bkra-shis bought a horse (I infer it; I have been told).'

         d.   *tʂaɛʰi=kə*   *ʰtæ*   *ŋu=**ʰkə***
                 Bkra-shis=ERG horse   buy.INCOMPL=PROGR.AUX=**IMM.EVID**
                 'Bkra-shis buys a horse (it is perceptible in the current situation).'

         e.   *tʂaɛʰi=kə*   *ʰtæ*   *ŋu=nə*   ***re***
                 Bkra-shis=ERG horse   buy.COMPL =PART   **COP**
                 'Bkra-shis bought a horse (it is an uncontested fact).'

         f.   *tʂaɛʰi=kə*   *ʰtæ*   *ŋu=**tʰæ**/=**zəg***
                 Bkra-shis=ERG   horse   buy.COMPL=**DIR/INDIR**

                 se
                 QUOT
                 'Bkra-shis bought a horse (I heard it from somebody who saw it or inferred it).'

The ego (as in 568 a) receives no overt morphological marking, while in non-ego contexts the speaker can choose among variety of evidentials. In past situations, it is possible to distinguish between direct (as in 568 b) and indirect evidentiality (as in 568 c), while in present situations non-ego clauses are marked by immediate evidential (as in 568 d), which indicates perceptible evidence directly present in the current speech-act situation. Amdo Tibetan direct, indirect and immediate evidentiality are marked by verbal clitics that are not etymologically related to Lhasa Tibetan evidentials. In addition, Mdzo-dge Amdo Tibetan uses a factual copula verb as a neutral term of the system (as in 568 e). This marker indicates a matter-of-fact tone and leaves the information source unspecified (Sun 1993: 950-951). Both Lhasa and Amdo Tibetan have distinct markers for reported information, both based on the verb 'to speak' and used in combination with evidentials participating in egophoric marking (as exemplified the Amdo Tibetan example 568 f).

The evidential system in Wutun shows clear resemblance to that of Amdo Tibetan. In Wutun it is possible to distinguish the speaker's volitionally instigated events (ego) from events that the speaker is not part of (non-ego). In non-ego contexts, it is also possible to distinguish plain facts (factual) from the speaker's direct and indirect evidence (sensory-inferential). In addition, the Wutun reported evidential *sho*, also based on the verb 'to say, to speak', closely resembles the Amdo and Lhasa Tibetan reported evidentials. While Wutun ego evidential *-yek* and sensory-inferential evidential *-li* are most probably based on Sinitic morphemes (the existential copula *yǒu* 有 and the modal particle *le* 了 or the motion verb *lái*, 来, 'to come'), the factual auxiliary *re* resembles the Amdo Tibetan factual copula *re* in both meaning and form, and is one of the most obvious examples of grammatical morphemes borrowed directly from Amdo Tibetan to Wutun. There are also significant differences in Wutun and Amdo Tibetan evidential systems. Unlike Amdo Tibetan, Wutun does not mark egophoricity differently in past and present tense situations. Nor does it have distinct markers for direct sensory evidence, indirect evidence and immediate evidence. Amdo Tibetan makes a grammatical distinction between direct evidence (as expressed by =tʰæ), indirect evidence (as expressed by =zəg) and immediate evidence (as expressed by =ʰkə), while the Wutun sensory-inferential marker *-li* combines the functions of Amdo Tibetan direct, indirect and immediate evidentials.

In addition to Amdo Tibetan and Wutun, egophoricity has been documented in several Mongolic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, such as Mongghul (Georg 2003), Mangghuer (Slater 2003a, 2003b) and Bonan (Wu 2003; Fried 2010), as well as in Turkic language Salar (Simon 2014). Materials from the Turkic language Sarygh Yughur suggest that it also may have developed the category of egophoricity (see Roos 2000; Janhunen 2005), although systematic studies on the topic are lacking. Mongolic and Turkic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund make a binary distinction between ego and non-ego, and the category is known as subjective vs. objective marking in Mongolic studies.

Outside the Himalayan region, egophoric marking systems have been documented in the Andes, Caucasus and Papua. Barbacoan languages Awa Pit, Tsafiki, Cha'palaa and Guambiano spoken in the border area of Ecuador and Columbia distinguish between ego and non-ego (Dickinson 2000; Curnow 2002; Floyd 2011) and an egophoric marking system has been documented in the Nakh-Daghestanian language Akhvakh (Creissels 2008). In Papua, egophoric marking languages include Duna, Oksapmin, Foe and Fasu (San Roque 2008; Loughnane 2010; San Roque and Loughnane 2012).

From a cross-linguistic perspective, a striking feature in Wutun evidentiality system is that personal involvement and generally known facts are treated as information sources and receive distinct morphological marking. Personal involvement and uncontested facts are not widely recognized as evidential categories; they are, for example, not included in Aikhenvald's (2004)[15] influential typology of evidentiality. However, in both Wutun and Amdo Tibetan personal involvement and factual statements are contrasted with more widely documented information sources, like sensory evidence, inference and hearsay. Outside the Amdo Sprachbund, languages incorporating personal and factual evidence in their evidentiality systems have been documented in Papua (Loughnane 2010: 253; San Roque and Loughnane 2012: 161).

The Papuan languages Oksapmin, Foe and Fasu all have evidential systems that to some extent resemble Wutun. All these languages have personal-factual evidentials, that express either the speaker's personal involvement or uncontested facts which are also evident for others. Personal-factual evidentials are typically used in ego-contexts, that is, with first person in statements and second person in questions and they represent the strongest evidence available. (Loughnane 2010: 249.) Personal-factual evidence is contrasted with other types of evidence. Oksapmin, for example, makes a grammatical distinction between personal-factual evidence (marked by the suffix *-p* in first person statement in 569) and sensory evidence (marked by the suffix *-gop* in third person statement in 569):

Oksapmin (Loughnane 2010: 248):

(569)   *nox*   *natan*   *oxe*   *kol*   *max=a*
        1s   PN   3sm.POSS   sister   RECG=EMPH

        *p-ti-**p***
        tell-PFV-**PER.FP.SG**

        jǝxe   *ox*   *gi=n-p-n-**gop**=o*
        then   3sm   THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-**VIS.FP.SG**=QUOT
        'I told him, "I'm, you know, Nathan's sister." Then he told me as follows.'

Wutun contrasts personal involvement and factual statements with sensory-inferential evidence, but unlike Oksapmin, Wutun does not mark these evidential categories with a single evidential, but has distinct markers for personal involvement and factual statements.

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[15] However, Aikhenvald (2014: 8) briefly mentions common knowledge as an information source.

Evidentials expressing personal involvement and factual statements have also been documented in Pomoan languages, e.g. in Central Pomo (Mithun 1999: 181). Evidence from several unrelated languages suggests that personal involvement and generally known facts are cross-linguistically valid evidential categories and should be explicitly incorporated into typologies of evidentiality. The pioneering study on evidentiality by Aikhenvald (2004: 73) has shown that in most of the evidential systems in world's languages, visual evidence represents the most direct information source. However, evidence from languages like Wutun, Amdo Tibetan and Oksapmin suggests that there are systems in which the most direct information source is the speaker's personal involvement in the event, or both the speaker's personal involvement and generally known facts. Visual evidential is treated as less direct information source, and it may develop secondary meanings of non-volitionality and mirativity when used with first person, which in most evidential systems of world's languages are associated with non-visual and non-firsthand evidentials (see Curnow 2003). This cross-linguistic evidence on the coding of evidentiality stresses the importance of personal experience and mutual knowledge in human conceptualization of information source.

7.5 Evidentiality strategies

In addition to evidentials proper that have the source of information as their primary meaning, Wutun has several grammatical categories that have acquired secondary meanings related to the information source and the speaker perspective. I will refer to these categories and forms as evidentiality strategies (as proposed by Aikhenvald 2004: 105) here. Verbs of speaking are used to form reported speech constructions that mark direct quotes (Section 7.4.1). The non-final verb construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra,* 'in view of, looking at' can indicate speaker's observation or inference as one of its meanings (Section 7.4.2). Non-embedded nominalized clauses can express mirativity and speaker stance, and they are used as a rhetorical device in story telling (Section 7.4.3).

7.5.1 Reported speech

We have seen in Section 7.1.2 that reported evidentials *sho-li* and *sho-di-li*, 'they say', are widely used to express reported information, either with or without the exact reference to the quoted person. In addition to reported evidentials, various reported speech constructions are used to state what someone else has said. While reported evidentials are common for expressing indirect quotes, direct quotes are usually expressed by means of reported speech. In reported speech, the speaker characterizes the speech attributed to the quoted person by using the verbs of speaking, such *sho*, 'to say, to speak', *wen*, 'to ask' and the quote is often grammatically integrated into surrounding discourse. Overview of the reported speech constructions is provided here; there is a more complete discussion of quotative complement clauses in Section 10.4.

The quotative complement clause can either precede or follow the speech verb. When the quotation precedes the speech verb, the quotation can be understood as either direct or indirect:

(570)   *loshe*   *xho-li*   ***sho-li***
            teacher   good-SEN.INF   **say-SEN.INF**
            'Teacher said that it is (a) good (idea).' (Conversation 1_School)
            'Teacher said: 'It is (a) good (idea).'

Direct quotes can be expressed by a nominalized verb that precedes the quotation:

(571)   *en*   *aba*   *nga*   ***sho-de***   *ni*   *kan*
            HES   father   1SG.OBL   **say-NMLZ**   2SG   look
            'The father said to me: 'Look!' (Picnic)

When the nominalized verb of speaking precedes the quotation, the quotation is sometimes followed by the quotative *sho-ma*, based on the verb *sho*, 'to say, to speak' and the patient-oriented resultative aspect marker *-ma*. The quotative *sho-ma* marks the direct quote as finished:

(572) ngu   **wen-de**   aba   a-li   qhi-zhe   **sho-ma**
       1SG   **ask-NMLZ**   father   where   go-PROSP   **QUOT**

       menzai   wen-lio   ze-li
       like that ask-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'Then I asked: 'Father, where shall we go?' (Picnic)

It is possible to use both reported speech construction and reported evidential in the same clause (as in 573):

(573) gu-jhege   qhi-zhe   **sho-di-li**   **sho-li**
       3-PAUC   go-PROSP   **say-PROGR-SEN.INF**   **REP-SEN.INF**
       'They say that they will go, somebody told this to me (I have heard from a third party what they said).' (Cairangji)

In (573) the first verb *sho* is used as a lexical verb 'to speak' and it expresses direct quotation, while the second verb *sho* functions as a reported auxiliary that marks the quoted clause as information heard from a third party. Clauses with both reported speech construction and reported evidential are an example of multiple perspective constructions that express double marking of information source, like constructions that make use of both a reported evidential and an evidential participating in egophoric marking (see Section 7.1.2).

7.5.2 The construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra*, 'in view of, it seems'

The non-final verb construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra* is a compound of the verb *kan* (SM *kàn* 看, 'to look, to watch') and a conditional marker *-la ~ -ra*. The construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra* can be used as an evidentiality strategy to express one's point of view. It indicates that the speaker has based his/her statement on direct observation or inference and it is best translated 'it seems' or 'it looks like'. Consider:

(574) yangze   **kan-la**   gu   sangwa   jedo-di-li
       appearance **look-COND**   3SG   secret   know-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'S/he looks like s/he knows a secret.' (Cairangji)

(575) jhang   **kan-la**   raitek   xho-li
       today   **look-COND**   sun   good-SEN.INF
       'It looks like the weather will be good today.' (Cairangji)

Wutun *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction has an exact parallel in several other languages of the region, including the Amdo Tibetan construction *hdi-na* (WT *bltas.na*), 'looking at, in view of, compared to', which is also based on the verb 'to look, to watch' (WT *lta*) and a conditional marker (WT *na*) (Janhunen et al 2008: 62, 91). In addition to expressing one's point of view, this construction indicates the comparative degree of adjectives. For a more detailed discussion of the *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction, see Section 10.1.1.2.2.

7.5.3 Non-embedded nominalizations as stance constructions

Nominalized clauses are used as stance constructions in Wutun. With a stance construction I mean construction that expresses the speaker's attitude towards the denoted event (as in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 38). Wutun has only one highly versatile nominalizer *-de*, which can be attached to both individual verbs and entire clauses (see Section 4.11). Nominalized clauses are often embedded into the matrix clause and they function as adverbial subordinate clauses or relative clauses. However, Wutun also allows non-embedded nominalized clauses. These stand-alone nominalizations express the speaker stance, and they can acquire meanings expressed by either sensory-inferential evidential *-li* or factual evidential *re*, namely mirativity or mutual knowledge. The use of non-embedded nominalizations as stance constructions is a phenomenon documented in several Sino-Tibetan languages (see e.g. Watters 2004: 289; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona 2011: 38).

Example (576) illustrates the use of a nominalized clause as expressing the speaker's attitude towards the realization of the event:

(576) *ngu*   *jedo-yek*
       1SG   know-EGO

       ni   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   *qai-gu-lio-**de***
       2SG   1SG-ATTR   book   break-COMPL-PFV-**NMLZ**
       'I know it, you have torn my book!' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The sentence could be uttered in a context where the speaker has discovered that the addressee has torn the book and the addressee avoids taking responsibility of the event. The use of the nominalizer *-de* in (576) implies shared information between the speaker and the

addressee (the addressee knows well what s/he has done) and therefore its use is close to the use of the factual *re* in reminding about forgotten common ground (see Section 7.2.3.2), as well as in expressing the speaker's frustration and annoyance towards the behavior of the addressee.

Examples (577) and (578) illustrate the use of non-embedded nominalized clauses in story telling. In story telling, there are always two viewpoints: that of the storyteller and that of the characters in the story. In (577), the nominalized clause is used to express the attitude of the character of the story, the zombie who is frustrated with another character of the story, the monk who did not want to take him to Lhasa:

(577) *marai*   *men-de*   *jjhenzzhi*   *mi-de*   *chaimai*
       why   like that   reason   EXIST.NEG.NMLZ   shameless

       dang-de
       act-**NMLZ**
       'Why are you acting so shamelessly?'(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Example (578) illustrates the viewpoint of the storyteller; the storyteller uses non-embedded nominalized clause to indicate the climax in the story, and the nominalized clause is used to mark information that is expected to be new to the audience:

(578) *adia*   *qhi-qhe-ma*
       monk   go-rise-COORD

       yi-ge   *kan-de*   *kuli*   *da*
       one-REF   look-ATTR   time   then

       mi-jhan-de   *ya*
       NEG-see-**NMLZ**   EMPH
       'When the monk got up and looked towards (the zombie), he did not see
       anything!' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Stand-alone nominalizations can also be used to make the statement more emphatic, as in (579):

(579) *ngu*   *gu-de*   *gu-da*   *qhi-de*
       1SG   3SG-ATTR   DIST-ADV   go-**NMLZ**
       'I will (surely) go to him/her.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Examples (576)-(579) illustrate that stand-alone nominalizations in Wutun express speaker's surprise, frustration or annoyance or a high degree of certainty as their primary meaning. When expressing surprise, their meaning is close to mirative uses of the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*. They can also develop evidential overtones of mutual knowledge and a high degree of certainty typical for the factual evidential *re*. Therefore, I have included them to the evidentiality strategies here. Nominalization is a powerful discourse tool, which can be used purposefully to remind about common ground or express turning point in conversation and storytelling.

8 Clause Structure

This chapter discusses the syntax of simple clauses that contain one finite verb. Wutun is a verb-final language and the verb is the only obligatory element in the clause. The clause may consist of one finite verb or a nominalized verb without any overtly expressed arguments. A more complex clause is composed of the verb and its arguments, as well as (optionally) obliques such as temporal and locative phrases, adverbs and particles. The basic order of constituents is outlined in Section 8.1. Section 8.2 deals with valence and argument expression, such as different clause types, valence changing strategies and conditions for leaving arguments unexpressed. Like other Sinitic languages, Wutun is a topic-prominent language and the constituent order is often conditioned by information structure. The topic marking system is rather complex. It allows distinguishing between several different types of topics, as well as marking more than one topic in a single clause. Topic marking is discussed in Section 8.3.

8.1 Constituent order

As noted above, Wutun is a verb-final language. This is different from Standard Mandarin in which the most basic, unmarked word order is Agent-Verb-Patient. Verb-final syntax is a prominent areal feature in the Amdo Sprachbund. Tibetic, Mongolic and Turkic languages are verb-final and due to areal influence from these languages, most of the local varieties of Northwest Mandarin spoken in the region have aligned to the verb-final grammatical pattern and diverged from their genetic relatives spoken elsewhere. In Wutun, the verb always appears in the final position in the clause. The only exception to this is the occasional afterthought clarification of the noun phrase that was omitted in the clause (see examples 595 and 596). In this section, I will discuss the basic constituents that make up a clause in Wutun. I will start with the clauses, which consist of the verb only and then proceed into more complex examples of clause structure, which contain not only the verb but also different types of arguments and obliques.

In Wutun an utterance does not need to have any overtly expressed arguments to be considered as a clause. A clause may consist of either a regular full verb (as in 580 and 581), or a nominalized verb (as in 582). The verb may be followed by an auxiliary (as in 581) or a final particle (as in 582):

(580) *zhuang-qui-gu-ma-li*
come:out-exit-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
'(The ears of the wheat) have come out.' (Conversation 1_School)

(581) *oya*   *xhui-do-lio*   *ze-li*
INTJ   sleep-get done-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
'All right, (then the monk) fell asleep.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(582) *mi-jhan-de*   *ya*
NEG-see-NMLZ   EMPH
'(He) did not see (anything).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The verbal stems can also occur without any endings, as in the case of second person polite imperative forms:

(583)   *cohua*
         sit
         'Please have a seat!' (polite) (Myrtle Cairangji)

Arguments need not be overtly expressed if they are recoverable from the context. Argument expression and zero-anaphora are discussed in Section 8.2.6.

The clause may contain an interjection, a temporal phrase, a locative phrase, NPs representing the Agent, Patient and Recipient/Goal, an adverb and a final particle. Interjections always appear in the very first position of the clause:

(584)   **ya**   *ngu*   *nia*   *din-yek*
         INTJ   1SG   2SG.OBL   wait-EGO
         'All right, I will wait for you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The same position may also be filled by nouns used as address terms (as in 585), or by a combination of an interjection and a noun (as in 586):

(585)   **zhawa-ha**   *ni*   *bai-qhi*
         disciple-OD   2SG   PROH-go
         'Disciple, you should not go.' (WutunWT09Monks_4)

(586)   **ya**   **aba**   *ngu*   *ji-she-lio*
         INTJ   **father**   1SG   remember-RES.AO-PFV
         'Yes, father, I remember.' (Bike)

Interjections and nouns used in the very beginning of the clause function as discourse markers that connect the clause to the preceding discourse. For example, the interjection *ya* and the noun *aba*, 'father' in express an affirmative answer to a request. The nouns *zhawa*, 'disciple' in and *aba*, 'father' in are used as address terms, and they are not arguments licensed by the verb.

The order of Agent, Verb and Patient in a clause is conditioned not only by their grammatical functions, but also the information structure. The clause initial position is the unmarked topic position, while the position immediately before the verb is the unmarked focus position. The clause may also have more than one topic (see Section 8.3 for a detailed discussion of topic marking). In a fully formed transitive clause, the most common word

order is Agent-Patient-Verb. The Agent occupies the topic position and the Patient occurs in the focus position:

(587) *ngu*   *hu*   *yak-la~la-de-ge*
       1SG   flower   beautiful-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF
       AGENT   PATIENT

       mai-lio
       buy-PFV
       'I (just) bought a very beautiful flower.' (Cairangji)

(588) *londonwa-jhege*   *tian*   *zhun-she-lio*   *ze-li*
       farmer-PAUC   field   till-RES.AO-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       AGENT   PATIENT
       'The farmers have tilled the land.' (Cairangji)

Although the APV word order seems to be the unmarked basic word order, the order of elements in a clause is not strictly conditioned by their grammatical functions. The Patient can be placed before the Agent if it is topical, as in

(589) *huaiqa*   *je*   *ngu*   *kan-ma*
       book   this   1SG   read-COORD
       PATIENT   AGENT

       lio-gu-lio
       get finished-COMPL-PFV
       '(As for) this book, I got it finished (already).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The Patient is often topicalized if the speaker wants to convey a message contrary to the addressee's expectations, express contrast or reactivate a topic that was mentioned earlier in the discourse. Topic marking is discussed in detail in Section 8.3.

Temporal and locative phrases are usually placed either immediately before or immediately after the Agent. Their position in the clause is conditioned by the information structure. In (590), the temporal phrase *menzo*, 'tomorrow' is the topic and occurs in clause-initial position before the Agent, while in (591) the topic is the Agent *ngu*, 'I', and the temporal phrase *cu*, 'yesterday' is placed immediately after the Agent:

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(590)　　*menzo*　　　*jashe*　　　*gu*　　　　*cairang*　　*paze-yek*
　　　　　tomorrow　　PN　　　　3SG　　　　PN　　　　help-EGO

　　　　　sho-li
　　　　　REP-SEN.INF
　　　　　'As for tomorrow, Jashe will help Cairang (he has told me).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(591)　　*ngu*　　　　*cu*　　　　　*yegai-ge*　　*xai-lio*
　　　　　1SG　　　　yesterday　　letter-REF　　write-PFV
　　　　　'As for me, yesterday I wrote a letter.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In ditransitive clauses, Recipients can either precede the Theme (as in 592) or follow it (as in 593), while Goals typically follow the Theme (as in 594):

(592)　　*ana*　　　　*enian-ha*　　*huaiqa-ge*　　*ka-lio*
　　　　　mother　　child-OD　　book-REF　　give-PFV
　　　　　AGENT　　　RECIPIENT　　　　　　　　THEME
　　　　　'The mother gave the child a book.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(593)　　*mize*　　　　*gejhai-de*　　*taima*　　*pa-ha*
　　　　　little sister　self-ATTR　　bike　　　friend-OD
　　　　　AGENT　　　　　　　　　　THEME　　RECIPIENT

　　　　　sung-gu-lio　　　　　　*ze-li*
　　　　　give-COMPL-PFV　　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　　　'A little sister gave her bicycle to the friend.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(594)　　*dojjai*　　*yegai-ha*　　*zhungo*　　*dai-gu-lio*
　　　　　Dojjai　　letter-OD　　China　　　send-COMPL-PFV
　　　　　AGENT　　THEME　　　　　　　　GOAL
　　　　　'Dojjai sent the letter to China.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

In rare cases, a noun phrase can occur after the predicate, separated from the predicate by a break in speech flow. In my data, this kind of right-dislocated noun phrase constituent is often the Agent of either a transitive clause (as in 595) or a ditransitive clause (as in 596):

(595)　　*waixi*　　*alak-de*　　*hua*　　　*tin-ma*　　　　**gu**　　　**adia**
　　　　　evening　　lama-ATTR　speech　　listen-COORD　**that**　　**monk**
　　　　　'(He) followed the lama's advice in the evening, that monk…'
　　　　　(ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(596)   *adia-ha*   *kadak-ge*   *ka-lio*
              monk-OD   ritual scarf-REF   give-PFV

              ze-li   **lama**
              do-SEN.INF   **lama**
              'As for the monk, (he) gave a ritual scarf to the lama.' (WutunWT09Monks_4)

The right-dislocated noun phrases *gu adia*, 'that monk' in and *lama* in are best analyzed as afterthought clarifications. They represent noun phrases that the speaker forgot to mention, or feels necessary to add to the utterance because the utterance was unclear or ambiguous. The right-dislocated element has often been mentioned in a sentence that closely precedes it, and the speaker feels necessary to reactivate it in the discourse. The break in the speech flow between the predicate and the post-verbal constituent suggests that the post-verbal noun phrase is something that the speaker feels necessary to add to the utterance. Right-dislocated noun phrases are syntactically not part of the clause, and they only function as an afterthought clarification that the speaker adds to a complete clause to make it less ambiguous.

Finally, the clause may optionally contain an adverb placed immediately before the verb and a final particle placed after the verb:

(597)   *jhang*   **yishong**   *qhi-gu*   **dai**
              today   **certainly**   go-COMPL   **NEC**
              '(I) must certainly go today.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

8.2 Valence and argument expression

As in many other languages, the basic clause types in Wutun include intransitive clauses with one argument (Section 8.2.1), transitive clauses with two arguments (Section 8.2.2), ditransitive clauses with three arguments (Section 8.2.3) and copula clauses (Section 8.2.4). Valence changing strategies include the causative construction (Section 8.2.5), as well as reflexive and reciprocal constructions (Section 8.2.6). Argument expression is in general not obligatory, and any of the nominal arguments can be omitted if it is recoverable from the discourse context (see Section 8.2.6).

8.2.1 Intransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses, a single nominal argument (a noun or a pronoun) precedes the verb:

    (598)   *sangdek-de* *zhawa-jhege*   *zang-li*   *wanlan-di-li*
                PN-ATTR   worker-PAUC   Tibet-LOC   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
                'Sangdek's workers are working in Tibet.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

    (599)   *ngu-de*   *ana*   *lo-gu-ma-li*
                1SG-ATTR   mother   (be) old-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
                'My mother has become old.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

    (600)   *nga*   *e-li*
                1SG.OBL   (be) hungry-SEN.INF
                'I am hungry.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The argument of an intransitive clause can be an Agent-like, volitionally acting participant (as in 598), a Patient-like participant that undergoes a change of state (as in 599) or an Experiencer (as in 600). The clause may also include obliques, such as adverbs, particles, temporal phrase or a locative phrase (such as *zang-li*, Tibet-LOC, 'in Tibet') in (598).

    There are several different types of predicates that typically occur in intransitive clauses. Adjectives (see Sections 3.8.3 and 4.12) as well as the quantifiers *do*, 'many, much' and *sho*, 'a few, a little' (see Section 4.13) resemble verbs in most of their morphosyntactic properties and they are frequently used as predicates in the clause. Adjectives and quantifiers are one of the most common types of predicates found in intransitive clauses:

    (601)   *ni-de*   *quandi*   *xaige*   *yak-la-li*
                2SG-ATTR   clothes   very   (be) beautiful-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
                'Your clothes are very beautiful.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

    (602)   *xhui*   *rai-qhe-ma-li*
                water   (be) warm-start-RES.PO-SEN.INF
                'The water started to warm.' (Cairangji)

    (603)   *laizha*   *be-do-li*
                homework   NEG-much-SEN.INF
                'There is not much homework (to do).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

A large number of intransitive verbs express motion, such as *hi*, 'to fly', *do*, 'to arrive', *xhen*, 'to walk', *qhi*, 'to go', *lai*, 'to come', as in (604) and (605):

(604)   *hochai*   *dang-de*   *do-gu-lio*
        train   quick-ADV   arrive-COMPL-PFV
        'The train will arrive soon.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(605)   *ngu*   *qhi-zhe*
        1SG   go-PROSP
        'I will go.' (Conversation 1_School)

Another common group of intransitive verbs include verbs denoting bodily processes or emotions, such as *tin*, 'to be sick', *zui*, 'to get drunk', *xo*, 'to laugh', *kuu*, 'to cry' and *haipa*, 'to be afraid', as in (606) and (607):

(606)   *nga*   *tin-di-li*
        1SG.OBL   (be) sick-PROGR-SEN.INF
        'I am sick.' (Cairangji)

(607)   *gu*   *kuu-di-li*
        3SG   cry-PROGR-SEN.INF
        'S/he is crying.' (Cairangji)

To sum up, intransitive clauses in Wutun are composed of the verb and one nominal argument, which can be a noun or a pronoun. Typical predicates that occur in intransitive clauses include adjectives and verbal quantifiers, motion verbs and verbs expressing internal states or emotions. An argument of an intransitive clause can be Agent-like or Patient-like. Experiencer is one of the most common semantic role found in intransitive clauses, because they often contain a verb expressing the speaker's internal state.

8.2.2 Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses, there are two arguments: the Agent and the Patient. The most common word order in transitive clauses is Agent-Patient-Verb. This may be due to the fact that the Agent is more often topical and occurs clause-initially in unmarked topic position, while the

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Patient is more often focal and occurs immediately before the verb in unmarked focus position (see Section 8.3 on topic marking. Examples (608) and (609) illustrate transitive clauses:

(608)   *je*   *nian*   *nga-n-de*   *jashe*   *qhichai-ge*
         this   year   1-COLL-ATTR   Jashe   car-REF

         mai-she-lio
         buy-RES.AO-PFV
         'This year our Jashe bought a car.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(609)   *gu-jhege*   *metok-de tangga*   *wanlan-di-li*
         3-PAUC   pearl thangka   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
         'They were making a pearl thangka.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

However, if the Patient of a transitive clause is highly topical and the most immediate constituent in the clause, it precedes the Agent:

(610)   *je*   *huaiqa-ha*   *ngu*   *kan-gu-lio*
         this   book-OD   1SG   read-COMPL-PFV
         'This book, I have already finished reading (it).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Wutun has an alignment split between first and second person singular pronouns and all other types of Patients. When the Patient is first or second person singular pronoun (as in 611 and 612), it receives oblique case marking, while Patients that are third person pronouns or nouns receive no special morphological marking (as in 613 and 614):

(611)   *aba*   **nga**   *yiqang*   *din-da*
         father   **1SG.OBL**   a:while   wait-IMP
         'Father, wait for me!' (Bike)

(612)   *ya*   *ngu*   **nia**   *din-yek*
         INTJ   1SG   **2SG.OBL**   wait-EGO
         'Ok, I will wait for you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(613)   *ngu*   **gu**   *qhi-se-li*
         1SG   **3SG**   (be) angry-die-SEN.INF
         'I hate him/her.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(614)   ngu   cu   **yegai**   xai-lio
         1SG   yesterday   **letter**   write-PFV
         'I wrote a letter yesterday.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

First and second person singular pronouns therefore follow a nominative-accusative type of alignment, while third person pronouns and nouns have characteristics of neutral alignment: none of the main arguments in the clause receives overt morphological marking and the word order is rather flexible so it cannot realiably distinguish the Agent from the Patient. The functional motivation for this kind of alignment splits in world's languages lies in the animacy hierarchy: first and second person pronouns rank highest on the animacy hierarchy and they therefore are not typical Patients, since the most frequently attested Patients are inanimate. Therefore, if they occur as Patients, they are most likely to receive special grammatical marking (see Haspelmath 2007: 83). In addition to the universal animacy hierarchy, the development of multifunctional oblique case in Wutun has most probably been motivated by areal interference, since a functionally very similar case is present in the inflection of singular personal pronouns of some dialects of Bonan (Wu 2003: 336) It should be noted that oblique case marks not only the Patients; first and second person singular Recipients, Experiences and Possessors receive the oblique case marking as well (see Section 3.6.1.2).

8.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses contain three arguments: the Agent, the Recipient/Goal and the Theme. The distinction between animate Recipient and inanimate Goal has important consequences for Wutun clause structure, such as word order and the use of the optional dative marker -ha. Therefore, I have included Goals to my discussion, although they are not always included in the discussion of ditransitive clauses in reference grammars. Examples (615) and (616) illustrate the typical ditransitive clauses in Wutun:

(615)   lama   gejhai-ha   longdan   ka-ma
         lama   self-OD   prediction   give-COORD
         AGENT   RECIPIENT   THEME
         'A lama gave him a prediction.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(616) *ana   enian-ha   huaiqa-ge   ka-lio*
        mother   child-OD   book-REF   give-PFV
        AGENT   RECIPIENT   THEME
        'The mother gave the child a book.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

In ditransitive clauses, the Agent usually occupies the clause-initial position, while the Recipient and the Theme are placed in between the Agent and the verb. The most commonly attested word order in Wutun ditransitive clauses with an animate Recipient appears to be Agent-Recipient-Theme-Verb. However, as in the case of transitive clauses, the order of elements in a ditransitive clause is conditioned not only by their grammatical function, but also the information structure. In (615) and (616) the Agent and the Recipient are more topical than the Theme (Wutun can have more than one topical element in the clause; see Section 8.3.5 for discussion), so they are placed before the Theme. The Theme expresses new information so it occurs in the unmarked focus position before the verb. However, the Theme can be fronted to the clause-initial position (as in 617) if it is topical:

(617) *je   huaiqa   ngu   nia-ha   ka-yek*
        this   book   1SG   2SG.OBL-OD give-EGO
        'As for this book, I am giving it to you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Clauses with a topicalized Theme can be used to express contrast or information that is contrary to the addressee's expectations (e.g. it is this book I am giving to you, and not another book), while clauses with Agent-Recipient-Theme-Verb word order are pragmatically more neutral.

Examples (615)-(617) have illustrated transfer events with the verb *ka*, 'to give'. In all these examples, the transfer event is viewed as neutral: the Agent merely transfers an entity to the Recipient's sphere of control. Purposeful transfer, in which the Agent transfers an entity to the Recipient for a specific purpose, can be expressed lexically by a nominalized verb placed before the Theme:

(618) *ana   enian-ha   **kan-de**   huaiqa-ge   ka-lio*
        mother   child-OD   **read-NMLZ**   book-REF   give-PFV
        'The mother gave the child a book to read.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

If the Recipient of a ditransitive clause is the first or the second person singular pronoun, it appears in the oblique case:

(619)   ni   **nga**-*ha*   je   huaiqa   ka-lio
        2SG   **1SG.OBL**-OD this   book   give-PFV
        'You have given this book to me.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

We have seen in the examples (615)-(619) that Recipients in Wutun ditransitive clauses are often marked by the suffix -*ha*. This suffix has functions related to both argument structure and information structure. I have glossed -*ha* as a optional dative: it highlights an argument, which has a semantic role other than Agent, and which is often semantically or pragmatically marked. I will discuss the different functions of -*ha* in detail in Section 8.4; in this section I will focus on its uses in ditransitive clauses. Because -*ha* is most commonly used in ditransitive clauses with two animate arguments, it could be claimed that its main function is to disambiguate arguments: -*ha* marks the animate argument that is not the Agent (such as *nga*, 1SG.OBL, 'me' in 619). However, -*ha* can be attached to Themes as well, so this makes the explanation less valuable.

A more satisfactory explanation for the use of -*ha* in ditransitive clauses is offered by the concept of affectedness; -*ha* marks the participant that is the primary target of the event. Studies on linguistic typology have shown that Patients are the primary targets of transitive events, while Recipients are the primary targets of transfer events; they are the participants whose state the Agent intends to modify in the most salient way (see Kittilä 2007: 159, 2008: 262). For example, the Recipient could use the transferred entity for a specific purpose (e.g. read a book, ride a bike), while in the case of Theme its mere location changes. It could be claimed that because Recipients are the most affected participants in transfer events, they are often marked with -*ha*, which highlights their affectedness.

Clauses with an inanimate Goal offer support for this analysis. While in clauses with Recipient it is usually the Recipient that occurs with -*ha*, inanimate Goals usually do not take -*ha* (in rare cases -*ha* can be used with locative expressions, but the examples I have seen are not ditransitive clauses). In clauses with Goal it is common that -*ha* is used with the Theme instead of the Goal:

(620)   *dojjai*   *yegai*-**ha**   *zhungo*   *dai-gu-lio*
        PN   letter-**OD**   China   send-COMPL-PFV
        AGENT   THEME   GOAL
        'Dojjai sent the letter to China.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

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Alternatively, the Goal can be marked by the postposition *kema*, 'side' (see Section 5.1). In (620) the Theme *yegai*, 'the letter' is topical so it precedes the Goal, while in (621) and (622) the Theme *huaiqa*, 'a book' is focal and follows the Goal:

(621) *ggaiggan* *zhungo* ***kema*** *huaiqa-ge* *dai-gu-lio*
       teacher China **side** book-REF send-COMPL-PFV
       'The teacher sent a book to China.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(622) *ggaiggan* *xaitang* ***kema*** *huaiqa-ge* *dai-gu-lio*
       teacher school **side** book-REF send-COMPL-PFV
       'The teacher sent a book to the school.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Wutun ditransitive clauses therefore have characteristics of Differential Goal Marking. Differential Goals marking refers to a phenomenon in which Recipients and Goals are marked differently according to animacy (Kittilä 2008: 247-248). Following the analysis by Kittilä (2008), this difference can be explained in terms of affectedness: transfer events have more dramatic effects on animate participants than on inanimate participants. While an animate Recipient can purposefully use the transferred entity, the transfer event does not have much influence on inanimate Goal. In cases like (621), for example, it could be even claimed that the Theme *yegai*, 'letter' whose location changes is more affected than the Goal *zhungo*, 'China', and this difference is reflected formally in optional dative marking so that the marker *-ha* is used on Theme instead of Goal.

However, the use of *-ha* is optional even in the case of most affected participants such as Recipients, and there are examples of ditransitive clauses in which none of the arguments is marked with *-ha*:

(623) *ngu* ***nia*** *gozema* *taima*
       1SG **2SG.OBL** method bike

       qhi-hua *jho*
       ride-way how to teach
       'Let me teach you how to ride a bike (lit. a bike-riding-method)!' (Bike)

It can be concluded that even though animacy and affectedness play an important role in the use of *-ha*, they cannot explain all the cases of variation in its use. The use of *-ha* is therefore also determined by pragmatic factors. Typical functions of *-ha* include contrastiveness, a

change of topic in a conversation or re-activation of a previously mentioned topic. Pragmatic functions of -*ha* are discussed in Section 8.3.5.

As in many other languages, in Wutun different classes of verbs are coded differently in ditransitive clauses. The verbs of transfer, e.g. *ka*, to give, *dai*, 'to bring, to send' and *song*, 'to give (as a gift)' can be used as the only verb in a ditransitive sentence:

(624) *ngu* *gu-n-de*   *awu-ha* *huaiqa-ge*
    1SG   3-COLL-ATTR   boy-OD book-REF

    ka-gu-lio
    give-COMPL-PFV
    'I gave a book to their boy.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(625) *aba* *enian-ha* *yangtang* *yi* *poqia*
    father child-OD candy one package

    dai-lai-lio
    bring-come-PFV
    'The father brought the child a package of candies.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(626) *gu* *nga-ha* *dianyin-pio* *liang-zhang* *song-lio*
    3SG 1SG-OD movie-ticket two-CLF give-PFV
    'S/he gave me two tickets to the movie.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The same is true for the verbs of speaking, such as *sho*, 'to say' to tell' and *wen*, 'to ask':

(627) *ngu* *yidaze-ha* *xho~xho-de-ge*   *sho*
    1SG all-OD good~good-NMLZ-REF   say
    'I will tell everyone some good news (lit. something good) (Myrtle Cairangji)

(628) *ggaiggan* *lhoma-ha* *zhejek* *jhi-ge* *wen-lio*
    teacher student-OD question several-REF ask-PFV
    'The teacher asked the students many questions.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Verbs such as *mai*, 'to buy' and *ek*, 'to throw', on the other hand, can occur in ditransitive clauses only in combination with the verb *ka*, 'to give'. In (629), the verb *mai*, 'to buy' is nominalized and the verb *ka*, 'to give' is used with the nominalized main verb in an auxiliary-like construction:

(629)   *ana*   *aba*   *dojjai-ha*   *she-ge*   *mai-de*   *ka-lio*
           father   mother   PN-OD   house-REF   buy-NMLZ   give-PFV
           'Dojjai's parents bought him a house.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The verb *ek*, 'to throw' in ditransitive clauses occurs in coordinative non-final verb constructions together with the verb *ka*, 'to give'. The verb *ek*, 'to throw' is used as the non-final verb (see Section10.1.1) and it takes the coordinative marker *-ma*, while the verb *ka*, 'to give' is used as the final verb and it takes the aspect marking:

(630)   *gu*   *gu*   *rek*   *yi-ge*   *da*
           3SG   that   meat   one-REF   then

           ek-gu-ma   *haba-ha*   *ka-gu-lio*
           throw-COMPL-COORD   dog-OD   give-COMPL-PFV
           'S/he threw that piece of meat to the dog.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

We have seen that in ditransitive clauses the basic, unmarked word order is Agent-Recipient-Theme-Verb. However, information structure influences the word order and the Theme can be placed before the Recipient or fronted to a clause-initial position if it is topical. Recipient is often marked with the optional dative marker *-ha* because it is the most affected participant in transfer events. If the clause has an inanimate Goal instead of animate Recipient, the optional dative marking switches to the Theme. However, in spite of its important role in ditransitive clauses, *-ha* is not obligatory and its use is in many cases determined by pragmatic rather than semantic factors. Different classes of verbs receive different formal treatment in ditransitive clauses so that the verbs of transfer (e.g. *ka*, 'to give', *dai*, 'to bring, to send', *song*, 'to give (as a gift)') and saying (e.g. *sho*, 'to say', *wen* 'to ask') can be used as the only verb in the clause, while the verbs such as *mai*, 'to buy' and *ek*, 'to throw' can only be used in combination with the verb *ka*, 'to give'.

8.2.4 Copula clauses

Wutun has two sets of copulas, the equative copulas *hai*, 'to be' (SM *shì* 是, 'to be') and *bai* 'not to be' < *be-hai* (SM *bú shì* 不是, 'not to be'), as well as the existential copulas *yek* 'to have, there is' (SM *yǒu* 有, 'there is') and *mi*, 'to not have, there is not' (SM *méi yǒu* 没有,

'there is not'). The copulas in Wutun form a distinct subclass of verbs that have features of both auxiliaries and regular verbs. Like auxiliaries, copulas do not take aspect marking or the causative suffix, but they do take evidential and interrogative marking (copulas are partly intertwined with evidential marking, with the existential copula *yek* without no overt evidential marking expressing ego evidentiality, see Sections 4.4 and 7.1.1.1). Copulas can also be attached to nominalized regular verbs to express aspectual and modal meanings (see Section 4.9.2). However, copulas can be used as the only verb in the clause, which is not possible for auxiliaries.

In copula clauses, the copulas connect two noun phrases and express different types of relationships between them. For example, in (631), the copula *hai*, 'to be' expresses equative relationship between the noun phrases *wandai jjhosa*, 'the place to go for a monk' and *ghui*, 'Tibet', while in the copula *yek*, 'to have, there is' expresses that the second person singular pronoun *nia*, 'you.OBL ' possesses the noun *jjhongmai*, 'immunity':

(631) *wandai* *jjhosa* *ghui* ***hai**-yek* *sho-ma*
little monk place to go Tibet EQU-EGO QUOT-RES
'The monk had to go to Tibet (lit. the place to go for a monk was Tibet),
there was such a saying.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(632) *nia* *jjhongmai* ***yek*** *ya* *sho-ma*
2SG.OBL immunity **EXIST** EMPH QUOT-RES
'You are protected (from the zombie) (lit. you have the immunity),
(the lama) said.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The copulas *hai* and *bai* are used in equative clauses (Section 8.2.4.1) and with predicate adjectives (Section 8.2.4.2), while the copulas *yek* and *mi* are used in existential and locative clauses (Section 8.2.4.3). Predicate possession (Section 8.2.4.4) can be expressed by means of either the copulas *yek/mi* or *hai/bai*, depending on whether the possessor or the possessed entity is topical.

8.2.4.1 Equative clauses

The copula *hai* is used for encoding nominal predication in equative clauses. Both nominal arguments appear zero-marked before the copula:

(633) | *ni* | *ren* | *sewo* | ***hai**-li* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | person | dead | EQU-SEN.INF |

ngu	*ren*	*sunbo*	***hai**-li*
1SG	person	alive	EQU.SEN.INF

'You are dead and I am alive…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Negative equative predicates are expressed by the copula *bai*:

(634) | *gu* | *lhoma* | ***bai**-li* |
|---|---|---|
| 3SG | student | NEG.EQU-SEN.INF |

'S/he is not a student.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Equative clauses express temporary or permanent properties of the participants. The most important difference between equative clauses and regular intransitive clauses (see Section 8.2.1) concerns the number and referentiality of their nominal arguments. While regular intransitive clauses have one referential nominal argument, equative clauses have two nominal arguments. The first nominal is referential, while the second one is a non-referential property-denoting nominal that describes a property of the first nominal argument. For example, the noun *lhoma* in (634) denotes the property of *gu*, 's/he', and does not refer to any particular student. Non-referential nominal arguments differ from referential ones so that they do not take number marking (see Section 3.2.2) or the referential marker *-ge* (see Section 3.5).

8.2.4.2 Predicate adjectives

Predicate adjectives express a property of a noun. In Wutun, predicate adjectives show mixed encoding (see Stassen 2015a); they can be encoded in ways which is parallel for either predicate verbs or predicate nominals. As shown in Section 4.12, adjectives in Wutun take verbal morphology, including aspect and evidential markers, and they can be used as predicates in the clause in a way that is parallel for predicate verbs. The examples (635) illustrates a predicate verb *qe*, 'to eat' and, while (636) illustrates a predicate adjective *xho*, '(to be) good':

(635)   *gu*   *qe-di-li*
              3SG   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF
              'S/he is eating.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(636)   *ren-dera*   *xaige*   *xho-li*
              person-PL   very   good-SEN.INF
              'The people (here) are very good.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

However, unlike predicate verbs, predicate adjectives can also receive nominal encoding. When encoded nominally, adjectives are reduplicated and nominalized by the nominalizer *-de*. The noun being modified by the adjective occurs as a topic in clause-initial position, while the reduplicated and nominalized adjective immediately precedes the copula *hai/bai*:

(637)   *shetek*   *bin~bin-de*   **hai**-*li*
              rock   cold~cold-NMLZ   EQU-SEN.INF
              'The rock is cold.' (Cairangji)

(638)   *tianmi momo*   *tian~tian-de*   **bai**-*li*
              kind of sweet bread   sweet~sweet-NMLZ   EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
              'The bread is not very sweet.' (Cairangji)

The same lexical item can switch between the verbal and nominal encoding (see Stassen 2015a for switching and split encoding of predicate adjectives). In (639), the adjective *rai*, '(to be) warm, (to be) hot' is encoded as a predicate verb, while in (640) it is encoded as a nominal argument:

(639)   *tianqhe*   *rai-li*
              weather   (be) hot-SEN.INF
              'The weather is hot.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(640)   *xenmo*   *rai~rai-de*   *hai-li*
              personality   warm~warm-NMLZ   EQU-SEN.INF
              'S/he is a warm personality.' (Cairangji)

Stassen (2015b) notes that in languages in which predicate adjectives can be encoded both nominally and verbally, the switching between nominal and verbal encoding is only available for a subset of adjectives that can express both permanent and temporary property of a noun.

In such cases, the verbal encoding commonly expresses temporary/accidental property, while the nominal encoding expresses permanent/inherent property. This explanation seems to be valid for Wutun as well. In the example (639), the predicate adjective *rai*, '(to be) hot' could be interpreted as describing the day's weather that is subject to change, while in (640) it describes the permanent property of someone's personality.

While in Sinitic languages predicate adjectives always receive verbal encoding, Wutun adjectives represent mixed characteristics of verbs and nouns, which is more typical for Tibetic languages and is most probably due to Amdo Tibetan influence. The fact that nominalized adjectives can occur post-nominally as adjective attributes or predicate adjectives distinguishes adjectives from regular verbs and allows them to be postulated as a distinct, verb-like word class (see Sections 3.8.3 and 4.12).

8.2.4.3 Existential and locative clauses

Existential clauses express the meanings such as '*There are many people here*.' The copulas *yek* and *mi* are used in existential clauses:

(641)   *en*   *da*   *rek*   *mezzhawo*   *jhi-ge*
     as for it   then   profession   different kind   a few-REF

     yek-*li*
     EXIST-SEN.INF
     'There are different kinds of professionals (who make Buddhist art in our village).' (The Wutun Village)

(642)   *nianha-de*   *co*
     blind eye-ATTR   after

     wu-yai-dang   **yek**-*li=mu*
     five-month-festival   EXIST-SEN.INF-EMPH
     'After the Losar, there is the May Festival…' (Village Festivals)

(643)   *yidaze*   *qhichai*   *gala-ma-da*   *goba*
     all   car   like-RES.PO-CONSEQ   option

     mi-*li*
     EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
     'Everyone likes the car, so there is no choice (they must share the car).'
     (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The existential copulas *yek* and *mi* also express locative predication (such as *The child is at school*):

(644)   *sangdek*   *she-li*   ***yek****-li*
        PN   home-LOC   **EXIST**-SEN.INF
        'Sangdek is at home.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Examples in Sections 8.2.4.1 and 8.2.4.3 show that Wutun is a language with split encoding of nominal and locational predicates (see Stassen 2015). Nominal predicates are always encoded by the equative copulas *hai*/*bai*, while locative predicates are always encoded by the copulas *yek*/*mi*. This is as expected, because Sinitic languages are typical split-languages where nominal and locative predication is encoded by different verbs.

8.2.4.4 Possessive constructions

Predicate possession refers to clauses in which an ownership of a certain object is predicated by a possessor. Possessive clauses make use of either the copulas *yek*/*mi* or *hai*/*bai*, depending on which nominal argument is topical. When the possessor is topical (such as the nouns *awu*, 'boy' in 645 and *gu*, 's/he' in 646), the copulas *yek*/*mi* are used to express possessive predication. The possessed entity is indefinite and occurs in the focus position (such as the noun *huaiqa*, 'book' in 645), while the possessor often takes the optional dative marker *-ha*[16] (such as the noun *awu*, 'boy' in 645):

(645)   *gu-n-de*   *awu-ha*   *huaiqa-ge*
        3-COLL-ATTR   boy-OD   book-REF

        yek*-li*
        EXIST-SEN.INF
        'Their boy has a book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(646)   *gu-ha*   *gejhai-de*   *she*   ***mi****-yek*
        3SG-OD   self-ATTR   house   **NEG.EXIST**-EGO
        'S/he doesn't have his/her own house.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

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[16] In many Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. in Dolakha Newar, see Genetti 2007: 290), the subject noun phrase of possessive construction contains a dependent possessor in genitive or allative case. The literal translation of possessive construction is therefore 'his/her/its X exists.' This kind of pattern with genitive does not occur in my Wutun data. The predominant strategy of marking possessors is by the optional dative marker *-ha*. The Wutun possessive construction is therefore somewhat unexpected from the Tibeto-Burman perspective.

A second type of possessive clause is used when the possessed object rather than the possessor is topical. The copulas *hai/bai* are used to express possessive predication, and the possessed object occurs as the topic in clause-initial position:

(647)　*je*　　　*ngu-de*　　*huaiqa*　　**hai**-*yek*
　　　　this　　　1SG-ATTR　book　　　EQU-EGO
　　　　'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

8.2.5 Valence changing strategies

Valence changing strategies in Wutun include causative construction (Section 8.2.5.1) and reflexive and reciprocal constructions (Section 8.2.5.2). Causative construction is expressed by adding the suffix -*ge* on the verb. It introduces the causer to the event and therefore increases the valency of the verb. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are both expressed by the pronoun *gejhai ~ jhai*, 'self', which specifies that the Agent and the Patient are either the same entity (reflexive construction) or act upon each other (reciprocal construction). It should be noted, however, that the pronoun *gejhai ~ jhai* has other functions as well (see Section 3.6.4). In many cases it has an emphatic function and when used as an emphatic pronoun, it is not a true valence-decreasing construction. Like other Sinitic languages, Wutun has no passive construction. The closest functional equivalent for passive is a transitive clause, in which the Patient functions as the topic, and the Agent is left overtly unexpressed, as in (648):

(648)　*gu*　　　*huaiqa*　　*huai-la-gu-lio*
　　　　3SG　　　book　　　print-INCOMPL-COMPL-PFV

　　　　ze-li
　　　　EXEC-SEN.INF
　　　　'That book has (already) been printed.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

However, has no explicit passive marker, and it is a case of a regular transitive clause with one unexpressed argument rather than a "true" passive construction, although it may have a passive translation in other languages.

8.2.5.1 The causative construction

Causative construction adjusts the valence of the verb by introducing an Agent (or a Causer) argument referring to the causer of the event. The causative suffix *-ge* (possibly based on the Mandarin Chinese verb *gěi* 给, 'to give' or the Mongolic causative marker *-ge* ~ *-ga* < Mongolic **ki-*, 'to do') appears on the verb in these clauses and the Agent appears in the clause-initial position, while the Causee occupies the second position:

(649) Non-causative intransitive:
lhoma   *she-li*   *qhi-gu-lio*
student   house-LOC   go-COMPL-PFV
'The student went home.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(650) Causative:
ggaiggan   *lhoma*   *she-li*   *qhi-gu-**ge**-lio*
teacher   student   house-LOC   go-COMPL-**CAUS**-PFV
AGENT   CAUSEE
'The teacher sent the student home.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(651) Non-causative transitive:
gu   *quandi*   *soma-ge*   *quan-di-li*
3SG   clothes   new-REF   wear-PROGR-SEN.INF
'S/he is wearing new clothes.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(652) Causative:
ana   *galamala-ha*   *xen*   *quandi*
mother   child-OD   new   clothes
AGENT   CAUSEE

*quan-**ge**-di-li*
put:on-**CAUS**-PROGR-SEN.INF
'Mother is putting new clothes on the child.'
'Mother is making the child to wear new clothes.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Example (649) illustrates a causativized intransitive clause, while example (650) illustrates a causativized transitive clause. The Agent occupies the clause-initial position, while the Causee appears in the second position after the Agent. The verb in a causativized clause takes the suffix *-ge*. The Causee is often marked with the optional dative marker *-ha* (as in 650). The use of *-ha* in causativized clauses can be explained on the basis of same principles as its use in ditransitive clauses (see Section 8.2.3): it highlights the most affected

participant in the clause. While in ditransitive clauses the most affected participant is the Recipient, in causativized clauses it is usually the Causee whose state the Agent intends to modify in the most salient way. However, as illustrated by the example the use of *-ha* in causative clauses is not obligatory. It does not affect the meaning of the causative and its use is often determined by pragmatic factors (such as expressing contrast) rather than semantic factors (see Section 8.3.4). The causative suffix *-ge* has a broad semantic meaning. It can express both indirect (directive) causation (as in 650) and direct (manipulative) causation (as in 651). While in the case of indirect causation the Agent gives oral instruction to the Causee, in the case of direct causation the Agent physically manipulates the object or person that functions as the Causee (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 88-89). In the example the Agent *ggaiggan*, 'teacher' gives oral instruction to volitionally acting Causee *lhoma*, 'student', so that the causation is viewed as indirect. The example (651) could be interpreted as indirect, but it could also be interpreted as direct so that the Agent *ana*, 'mother' makes the Causee *galamala*, 'child' to wear the clothes by putting them on him/her.

If the Causee is a first or second person singular pronoun, it appears in the oblique case:

(653)   Causative:
        loshe   **nga**   *she-li*   *qhi-**ge**-lio-zhe*
        teacher   **1SG.OBL**   home-LOC   go-**CAUS**-PFV-PROSP
        AGENT   CAUSEE
        'The teacher sent me home.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Causative *-ge* can also be used when the Agent is an inanimate, abstract entity and does not act intentionally, as in (655) and (656):

(654)   Non-causative:
        yidaze   *yanca-la-gu-lio*
        all   (be)surprised-INCOMPL-COMPL-PFV
        'Everyone got surprised.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(655)   Causative:
        je-ge   *jjekdo-duru*   *yidaze-ha*
        this-REF   change-PL   all-OD
        AGENT   CAUSEE

        *yanca-la-gu-**ge**-lio*
        (be)surprised-INCOMPL-COMPL-**CAUS**-PFV
        'These changes surprised everyone.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

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(656)   *ni*   *lhasa*   *ju*   *toba*
           2SG   Lhasa   lord:Jobo   forehead

           dek-la-lio-de-ge   *hanyan*   *yek-**ge**-zhe*
           touch-INCOMPL-PFV-NMLZ-REF   benefit   EXIST-**CAUS**-PROSP
           'When you bow your head to Lord Jobo in Lhasa, that gives you the benefit
           (lit. your head-bowing makes you earn religious merits).' (ELDP, corpus
           WT09_4)

In Wutun it is also possible to express different degrees of indirect causation. In all the examples from (650) to (653) the Agent gives oral instruction to the Causee so that the causation is viewed as indirect, but in (657) the Agent acts in a more authoritarian way and the Causee has less freedom to choose whether to obey the Agent:

(657)   *ngu*   *gu-ha*   *qhi-**ge-zhe***
           1SG   3SG.OD   go-**CAUS-PROSP**
           'I will make him go (I will force him to go).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(658)   *ngu*   *gu-ha*   *qhi-**ge-lio***
           1SG   3SG-OD   go-**CAUS-PFV**
           'I made him go (I let him go).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(659)   *ngu*   *gu-ha*   *qhi-**ge-lio-zhe***
           1SG   3SG-OD   go-**CAUS**-PFV-PROSP
           'I made him go (I let him go).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The prospective aspect marker -*zhe* (as in 657) expresses an action that is relevant already at the time of speaking and whose effect continues to the future (see Section 6.2.4). When used together with the causative marker -*ge*, it indicates that the Agent uses his/her authority to influence the Causee and the Causee does not act completely volitionally. The perfective aspect marker (as in 658), expresses terminated action that is viewed in its entirety (see Section 6.2.1). When used together with the causative marker, it indicates that the Agent gives instruction to the Causee in less authoritarian way and the Causee follows the instructions volitionally. Similar meaning is achieved when the perfective aspect marker -*lio* and the prospective aspect marker -*zhe* are used together with the causative morpheme -*ge* (as in 659).

     The causative suffix -*ge* also indicates permission (as in 660 and 661):

(660) | *nga* | *taima* | *yi-ge* | *qhi-**ge*** | *ya* |

      1SG.OBL   bike   a bit   ride-**CAUS**   EMPH

      'Please let me ride the bike!' (Bike)

(661) *gu-ha*   *xaitang-li*   *qhi(-gu)-**ge***

      3SG.OD   school-LOC   go(-COMPL)-**CAUS**

      'Let him go to the school!' (Myrtle Cairangji)

In addition to their valency increasing function, causatives in world's languages can have non-valency increasing functions. Causatives can, for example introduce a participant without affecting the number of overt arguments, underline a high degree of agency associated with the Agent or express features related with high semantic transitivity, such as high degree of Patient affectedness, punctuality or dynamicity of events (Kittilä 2009: 74-90). On the basis of my data, it looks like the causative morpheme *-ge* in Wutun can be used as a transitivizing device that together with other verbal markers highlights the intensification or punctuality of the events, both of which are features related with a high degree of semantic transitivity. In (662) and (663), *-ge* is not related to the Agent introduction in any direct way, but instead emphasizes the affectedness of the Patient and the punctuality of the events:

(662) *gu*   *yidaze*   *qe-ma*

      3SG   all   eat-COORD

      *lio-**gu-ge**-ma-li*

      get finished-**COMPL-CAUS**-RES.PO-SEN.INF

      'S/he has eaten up everything.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(663) *ngu-de*   *quandi-de*   *mu*

      1SG-ATTR   clothes-NMLZ   TOP

      *to-**gu-ge**-ma*   *ssanxhan*   *yidaze*

      take:off-**COMPL-CAUS**-COORD   monk's rope   everything

      'My clothes, (you) took (them) off, all my monk's clothes…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In (662), the speaker emphasizes that all the food was eaten up and in (663) that all the clothes were taken off, so both examples involve the completeness of the event and a high degree of Patient affectedness. In both cases, *-ge* is used together with completive aspect marker *-gu* that marks the event as materially bound (see Section 6.3.2). Completive-

causative *-gu-ge* denotes a bound event with a clear outcome and is therefore associated with a high degree of semantic transitivity. Non-valency increasing functions of causative morpheme *-ge* in Wutun still require further research.

8.2.5.2 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Reflexive constructions are expressed by the pronoun *gejhai ~ jhai*, 'self'. In a prototypical reflexive situation (such as 664) the Agent acts on himself or herself so that the Agent and the Patient are the same entity:

(664)   **gejhai-na**   *zaibala*   *xhui-li*   *wu-she-lio*
           self-OBL   almost   water-LOC   drown-RES.AO-PFV
           'He almost drowned himself in the water!' (Bike)

In reciprocal constructions the two participants equally act upon each other, so that they both are simultaneously the Agent and the Patient. Because reflexives and reciprocals are conceptually close to each other, they are expressed by the same construction in many languages (a case in point is Amharic, see Amberber 2002: 73). Wutun has both reflexive and non-reflexive reciprocals. The reflexive pronoun *gejhai ~ jhai* can be used as a reciprocal pronoun, as in (665) :

(665)   *nga-mu*   *liang-ge*   **jhai**   *dajha-li=a*
           1-COLL   two-REF   **self**   fight-SEN.INF=INTERR
           'Let's fight with each other!' (Conversation 1_School)

In addition to the reflexive reciprocal, Wutun also has a non-reflexive reciprocal construction. The non-reflexive reciprocal construction involves reduplicated numeral *yi-ge* 'one' as in (666):

(666)   *gu*   *liang-ge*   **yi-ge~yi-ge-de**
           3   two-REF   **one-REF~one-REF-ATTR**

           shek   *la-she-ma-li*
           hand   pull-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF
           'They two were holding each other's hands.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

On the basis of my data, it is not possible to determine functional differences between the two reciprocal constructions.

In addition to specifying the Agent as the primary target of the event and expressing reciprocal meanings, the pronoun *gejhai ~ jhai* has other functions as well. It can, for example, contrast the Agent with other participants in the clause or emphasize that its referent acted independently. In these cases it does not affect the number of arguments in the clause and it is therefore not a real valence-decreasing strategy. In (667) *gejhai ~ jhai* functions as an emphatic pronoun:

(667)   **gejhai**   *rolang*   *mende-ge*   *qhe-lai-gu-lio*
         self   zombie   like that-REF   rise-come-COMPL.PFV
         '(The disciple) himself (and not somebody else) rose up as a zombie.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The various non-valence-decreasing functions of *gejhai ~ jhai* are discussed in detail in Section 3.6.4.

8.2.6 Argument expression

In Wutun, it is not obligatory to express arguments overtly, if their identity can be retrieved from the context. In (668), the referent *yidaze*, 'everyone' is introduced in the first clause and it is not repeated in the clauses that follow because its identity has already been established:

(668)   *gu-de*   *xenrada*   **yidaze**
         that-ATTR   after   **all**

         wu-yai-dang   *go-she-di-de*   *re*
         five-month-festival   spend-RES.AO-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT

         wu-yai-dang   *go-she-ra*
         five-month-festival   spend-RES.AO-COND

         luteng-li   *qhi-ma*
         forest-LOC   go-COORD

         pikang   *da*   *gu-duru*   *da-ma-da*
         tent   and   that-PL   pitch-RES.PO-CONSEQ

xaige	*sama*	*da*	*gu-duru*
very	food	and	that-PL

xang~xang-de	*wanlan-ma-da*
delicious~delicious-NMLZ	make-RES.PO-CONSEQ

'After that (the Losar), everybody spends the May Festival. To celebrate the May Festival, (all the people) go to the forest, (they) pitch tents and the like, (and) cook very delicious food…' (Village Festivals)

An argument can be left overtly unexpressed, if it is a topic of the entire passage of discourse and it can be recovered from the wider discourse context, such as 'the Wutun people' in (669):

(669)

gangdaijhang	*jjhe*	*ngoma*
anyway	nature	essence

sho-ma	*qhi-la*	*da*	*hai-ma*
say-COORD	start-COND	then	EQU-COORD

suan	*hai-de*	*kodak*	*hai-li*
Tibetan	EQU-NMLZ	really	EQU-SEN.INF

'Anyway, to say something about the origin (of the Wutun people), they are truly Tibetan.' (The Wutun Village)

The example (669) is taken from a descriptive text, in which the speaker discusses the life of Wutun people: their origin, means of livelihood, education and the language. Because the referent 'Wutun people' is the topic that the entire text is about, and the speaker has explicitly stated this in the very beginning of the text, it can be left overtly unexpressed when the speaker as talking about the origins of the Wutun people.

Leaving arguments overtly unexpressed is particularly common in answers to questions. In (670), the Patient-topic *shaze*, 'the ear of the wheat', is left overtly unexpressed in the speaker C's answer, because it is clear from the speaker B's question, while the Agent *ngu-jhege*, 'we' is expressed overtly because it is not clear from the previous mention:

(670)   B: **shaze**
             wheat

             be-zhuang-qui-gu-ma-li=mu
             NEG-come:out-exit-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF=INTERR
             'Haven't the ears of the wheat come out already?'

C: *zhuang-qui-gu-ma-li*
come:out-exit-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
'Yes, (they) have.'

ngu-jhege	*hai*	*lai-de*	*kuli*	*zhai-lio*
1-PAUC	still	come-ATTR	time	pick-PFV

'And we picked (them) while coming back (from the school).'
(Conversation 1_School)

The pragmatic conditions which allow the arguments to be left overtly unexpressed still need further research. However, it can be concluded that when the argument is co-referential in several clauses that follow each other, it can be mentioned in the first clause only and does not have to be repeated in the following clauses. If the argument is the topic of a larger passage of discourse and retrievable from the context of a text or a conversation, it can be left overtly unexpressed even if it has not been mentioned in the preceding clause. Due to omission of arguments, Wutun discourse often appears highly abbreviated, and requires a great degree of familiarity with the physical environment and social circumstances of the participants for its interpretation.

8.3 Topic marking

Like other East Asian languages, Wutun has an elaborate system of topic marking. While the most common topic marking strategy is zero and the use of any overt topic marker is optional, there are at least five different topic markers. As in many other Sino-Tibetan languages, it is not uncommon to have more than one topic in the clause, and the clause may have up to three topics. Section 8.3.1 provides the definition of topic, as well as an overview of different topic marking strategies. Section 8.3.2 discusses the topic marker *mu* and Section 8.3.3 deals with the topic markers *hai-la ~ hai-ra, hai-de-ra* and *hai-de-ra-da*, 'as for'. The chapter concludes with the treatment of clauses with more than one topic in Section 8.3.4.

8.3.1 Preliminaries

Following Lambrecht (1994: 118), I will define topic as "the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about". The topic is an element, whose referent is definite or generic and therefore pragmatically accessible for the addressee, as well as a matter of current concern or interest. A statement about the topic conveys information, which is relevant with respect to topic and increases the addressee's knowledge about it. Topic in Wutun can be a noun, a pronoun, a nominalized clause, a postpositional phrase or an adverb. Example (671) illustrates a typical topic marking construction:

(671)   *zaige*   *hahua*   ***mu***   *zaige*   *do-li*
        some   Chinese   **TOP**   some   many-SEN.INF
        'As for the Chinese elements (in our Wutun language), they are numerous.'
        (The Wutun Village)

In (671) the topic is *zaige hahua*, 'some Chinese (linguistic elements)'. The speaker has just explained that some parts of the Wutun lexicon come from Chinese, so the topic *zaige hahua* 'some Chinese' is accessible to the addressee and a matter of current interest.

There are two formal properties that are common for all topics. First, topic occurs in a clause-initial position, such as *zaige hahua*, 'some Chinese' (elements) in (669). This is the primary formal feature for marking a topic in Wutun, and the topic can be expressed by the clause-initial position only. Second, topic may take one of the several topic markers, such as *mu* in (671). However, all the topic markers are optional, and the topic is often morphologically zero-marked, such as the topic *huaiqa je*, 'this book' in (672):

(672)   *huaiqa*   *je*   *ngu*   *kan-ma*   *lio-gu-lio*
        book   this   1SG   read-COORD   finish-COMPL-PFV
        'This book, I have finished reading it.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In Wutun, topics can be either arguments of the verb, or elements that are not semantically and grammatically integrated into predicate-argument structure, and whose relation to the proposition is pragmatically construed (for the distinction between argument and non-argument topics, see Chafe 1976). The topic *huaiqa je*, 'this book' in (672) is topical, but at the same time it is clearly a Patient argument of the verb kan, 'to read'. The topic markers *mu*, *hai-la ~ hai-ra*, *hai-de-ra* or *hai-de-ra-da*, on the other hand, often mark

topics that are not arguments of the verb and whose relation to the rest of the clause is rather loose (see Sections 8.3.2 and 8.3.3). Sometimes the two types of topics can be used together in the same clause to form double-topic constructions (see Section 8.3.4).

8.3.2 Topic marker *mu*

The topic marker *mu* marks the noun phrase or an adverb as topical, as in (673)-(675):

(673)　　*da*　　　　*jaicangma*　*ddaiba-de*　*dicen*　　**mu**
　　　　　　then　　　　Jiacangma　village-ATTR　festival　　**TOP**

　　　　　　sho-de　　　*ra*　　　　*nianha-ge*　　　　*yek-li=mu*
　　　　　　say-NMLZ　　also　　　　blind eye-REF　　　EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　　　'The festivals in Jiacangma village, to say (something about them), there is Losar…' (Village Festivals)

(674)　　*zaige*　　*hahua*　　**mu**　　*zaige*　　*do-li*
　　　　　　some　　　Chinese　　**TOP**　　some　　　many-SEN.INF
　　　　　　'As for the Chinese elements (in our Wutun language), they are numerous.' (The Wutun Village)

(675)　　*yilai*　　*dangma*　　**mu**　　*hai-de-ra*
　　　　　　anyway　　long ago　　**TOP**　　EQU-NMLZ-also

　　　　　　zang　　*jja-la*　　*qhi-la*
　　　　　　Tibet　　visit-COND　go-COND
　　　　　　'Anyway, those days, when you visited Tibet…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The topic marker *mu* often marks "Chinese-style" topics that need not to have any direct semantic relationship with the verb (for discussion of topics in Mandarin Chinese, see Li and Thompson 1976, 1981). In 673, the topic *jaicangma ddaiba-de dicen*, 'the festivals of the Jiacangma village' is the target for the comment 'there is Losar', and the topic *zaige hahua*, 'some Chinese (elements)', is the target for the comment 'there are many.' Neither of these topics are arguments of the verb. Their relation to the rest of the clause is rather loose and pragmatically construed.

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Topic marker *mu* can also mark topicalized nominal arguments regardless of their semantic role. In the topic is the Agent *gu-de aba*, 'her father', while in the topic is the Patient *jjashok* and the Agent is left overtly unexpressed:

(676) *gu-de*   *aba*   ***mu***   *xaitang-li*
       3SG-ATTR   father   **TOP**   school-LOC

       dianno   *yek-da*   *xho-li*
       computer   EXIST-CONSEQ   good-SEN.INF

       sho-ma-li
       say-RES.PO-SEN.INF
       'Her father, (he) said that there should be some computers in the school.'
       (Conversation 1_School)

(677) *jjashok*   ***mu***   *gun-ma*   *xhe-di-de*
       jjashok   **TOP**   cook-COORD   drink-PROGR-NMLZ
       '*Jjashok*, (the people) cook and drink it.' (Traditional Food)

Temporal and locative phrases often function as topics. They set the temporal or physical scene for the utterance. In (678), the topic is the temporal adverb *dangma*, 'long ago', while in (679) the topic is the locative phrase *zang-li*, 'in Tibet':

(678) *yilai*   *dangma*   ***mu***   *hai-de-ra*
       anyway   long ago   **TOP**   EQU-NMLZ-also

       zang   *jja-la*   *qhi-la*
       Tibet   visit-COND   go-COND
       'Anyway, those days, when you visited Tibet…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(679) *ni*   *zang-li*   ***mu***   *mende-ge*   *yenshe-ma*
       2SG   Tibet-LOC   **TOP**   like that-REF   evil spirit-and

       lai-de   *lhasa*   *jokang*
       come-NMLZ   Lhasa   Jokhang
       'You, to Tibet, you have brought such an evil spirit, to Jokhang temple in Lhasa…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

We have seen that the topic marker *mu* can be used with any topicalized nominal argument regardless of its semantic role and it is also commonly used in clauses in which the

topic is not the argument of the verb. The ability to occur with all the semantic roles and with topics that are not arguments of the verb sets *mu* functionally apart from the optional dative marker *-ha*, which has meanings related to both information structure and argument structure, and which cannot be used with Agent arguments (see Section 8.3.4).

8.3.3 Topic markers *hai-la ~ hai-ra*, *hai-de-ra* and *hai-de-ra-da*, 'as for'

In addition to the topic marker *mu*, topics can be indicated by using the topic markers *hai-la ~ hai-ra*, *hai-de-ra* and *hai-de-ra-da*, 'as for', all of which are based on the equative copula verb *hai*, 'to be'. The topic marker *hai-la ~ hai-ra* is composed of the equative copula *hai* and the conditional marker *-la ~ -ra* (see Section 10.1.1.2). Examples (680) and (681) illustrate its use:

(680)   *ayi-jhege*   **hai-la**   *zowo*   *da*
        woman-PAUC   **EQU-COND** main thing   then

        tian   *zhun-ma*   *menzai*
        field   cultivate-COORD   like that

        ze-di-de   *gu-li*
        do-PROGR-NMLZ   that-SEN.INF
        'As for the women (in our village), the most important thing (for them) is to work in the field.' (The Wutun Village)

(681)   *han*   *a-li*   **hai-ra**
        also   where   **EQU-COND**

        da   *molon*   *shai*   *da*   *gu-duru*   *shai*
        then   Molon   time   and   that-PL   time

        a-li   **hai-ra**   *jja-la-ma-da*
        where   **EQU-COND**   visit-INCOMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

        menzai   *co-di-de*   *re=mu*
        like that   stay-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT=EMPH
        'Also, as for everywhere, during the Molon ritual and the other rituals, (the people) pay visits everywhere (in their home village), that is how they celebrate (the Losar).' (Village Festivals)

The topic marker *hai-la ~ hai-ra* resembles *mu* in function. Like *mu*, it can be used with topical noun phrases regardless of their semantic roles, and it can also express topics that are not arguments of the verb, (as in 681). Sometimes the two topic markers can be used together, as in (682), in which the topic *niren-men*, 'the women, the wives' is marked by both the topic marker *mu* and the topic marker *hai-la*:

(682)	*da*	*niren-men*	**mu**	**hai-la**	*ra*
	then	woman-PL	**TOP**	**EQU-COND**	also

	cek-de-ge		*ra*	*da*	
	take-NMLZ-REF		also	then	

	ha	*ra*	*cek-lio*	*ze-li*	
	Chinese	also	take-PFV	EXEC-SEN.INF	

'Then, as for wives, as for taking a wife, (our ancestors) took Chinese (wives) as well.' (The Wutun Village)

On the basis of my current data, it remains unclear why there are two topic markers in and how its meaning would change if one of the topic markers would be omitted.

Another set of topic markers based on the equative copula are the topic markers *hai-de-ra* and *hai-de-ra-da*. They are composed of the equative copula *hai* and the nominalizer *-de*, as well as the particles *ra* and *da*, 'also, then':

(683)	*da*	*lek-yai-he*	**hai-de-ra**
	then	six-month-festival	**EQU-NMLZ-also**

	yidaze	*mio*	*qhi-she-ma*
	all	temple	go-RES.AO-COORD

'Then, as for the Leru Festival, everybody goes to the temple…' (Village Festivals)

(684)	*jjashok*	**hai-de-ra-da**	*jhang menzai*
	jjashok	**EQU-NMLZ-also-then**	nowadays

	zaimazai	*gun-di-de*	*mende-ge*	*hai-li*
	sometimes	cook-PROGR-NMLZ	like that-REF	EQU-SEN.INF

'As for *jjashok*, it is sometimes still cooked in these days.' (Traditional Food)

The topic markers *hai-de-ra* and *hai-de-ra-da* are functionally similar to the topic markers *mu* and *hai-la ~ hai-ra*. They can be used with the topics that are not arguments of the verb, as in the case of the topic *lek-yai-he*, 'the Leru Festival' in (683), as well as with topicalized

nominal arguments regardless of their semantic roles, as in the case of the Patient-topic *jjashok* in (684). At the moment, the different topic markers based on the copula *hai* appear to be merely morphological variants of the same topic marker and I have not been able to find out any obvious functional differences between them.

8.3.4 Clauses with more than one topic

In Wutun, topicality is not restricted to only one participant in the clause. There can be more than one topic under discussion at the same time so that the utterance increases the addressee's knowledge of each of them. Clauses with two topics are common in Wutun. It is optional to use overt topic marker with any of the topics.

If there are two topics in the clause, the first topic is often a locative or a temporal phrase that has a scene-setting function, while the second topic denotes a participant in a situation. In (685) and (686) the first topics, *ban-lu she* 'on the wall' and *menzo*, 'tomorrow' set the locative or temporal framework for the clause, while the second topics *zhawa*, 'disciple' and *gu*, 's/he' express the topical participants of the denoted situations:

(685)   *ban-lu*   *she*   *da*   *zhawa*   *se-gu-lio-de*
        half-way   on   then   disciple die-COMPL-PFV-NMLZ

        re
        FACT
        'On half way (to Tibet), the disciple died.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(686)   *menzo*   *gu-ha*   *xen-ma*   *lai-ma*
        tomorrow   3SG-OD   look-COORD   come-COORD
        'Tomorrow I will look for him…' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Another type of double topic constructions are clauses in which there is one topic introduced in the immediate discourse context, and another topic which has been introduced in a more distant discourse context and then reactivated. In these constructions, the first topic is the *primary topic* and the second topic functions as the *secondary topic*:

(687)   *ni*   *nga-ge*   *jhan-da*
         2SG   1SG-REF   see-IMP

         xen   *bipo-yek*   *sho-li*
         heart   explode-EGO   say-SEN.INF

         zai   ***ngu***   *nia*   *yi-ge*
         then   **1SG**   2SG.OBL   one-REF

         sowa-dai-la-ma   *yi-ge*   *guanlan-ma*
         pray-finish-INCOMPL-COORD   one-REF   meditate-COORD

         zai   ***ngu***   ***gu-ha***   *mi-jhan*
         then   **1SG**   **3SG-OD**   NEG-see
                      PRIMARY TOPIC   SECONDARY TOPIC   FOCUS

'(The zombie) said: Look at me, and your heart will explode!' Then I prayed for
you and meditated and then I did not see him (anymore).' (ELDP, corpus
WT09_4)

I will use the concepts *primary topic* and *secondary topic* in the spirit of Dalrymple and
Nikolaeva (2011), who discuss the phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective.
According to them, both primary and secondary topic are salient and under discussion, but
the primary topic is pragmatically more salient than the secondary topic. Primary topic and
secondary topic represent the presupposed information associated with the sentence, while
new utterance conveys information about the relationship between the primary topic and the
secondary topic (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 53-55). In the last line of (687), the Agent
ngu 'I' (denoting the monk) is the primary participant of the situation that the utterance is
about. It is the pragmatically most salient argument, because it has been introduced in the
immediate discourse context in the previous clause. However, the Patient *gu* 'him' (denoting
the zombie) has been introduced in a slightly more distant discourse context and is then re-
activated. It therefore functions as the secondary topic in the clause and makes the
thematically important non-agent argument to stand out in the discourse. The secondary topic
gu, 'him' takes the optional dative marker *-ha*, which is often associated with definiteness
and topicality and can be used to activate a previously mentioned topic in the discourse (see
Section 8.4). The verb phrase *mi-jhan*: NEG-see, 'did not see' is in the focus domain and it
expresses new information about the relationship between the primary topic *ngu*, 'I' and the
secondary topic *gu*, 'him'.

      The primary topic is distinguished by its clause-initial position. While in clauses with
Agent and Patient it is more common to have the Agent in the primary topic position, this is

not always the case; the Patient can be the primary topic that occurs in a clause-initial position, if the speaker focuses more on the non-agent argument and it is therefore the most salient participant in the clause:

(688)   *je*   *huaiqa-**ha***   *ngu*   *kan-gu-lio*
             this   book-**OD**   1SG   read-COMPL-PFV
             PRIMARY TOPIC   SECONDARY TOPIC   FOCUS
             'This book, I have read it.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (688) the speaker's focus is on the Patient *je huaiqa*, 'this book' so it appears in the primary topic position. The Agent *ngu*, 'I' functions as the secondary topic and the verb phrase *kan-gu-lio*: read-COMPL-PFV, 'to have read' is the new utterance that conveys information about the relationship between the primary and the secondary topic.

     In spoken discourse, the clauses are often started with lengthy chains of topics. In (689), there are three topical noun phrases; however, the last two of them refer to same entity so the clause is best analyzed as having two topics:

(689)   *gu-liangge*   ***jhang menzai***   *conjena*
             that-DIST   **nowadays**   as for this
                            TOPIC1

             je-de   ***hua***   ***je-ge-ha***
             this-ATTR   **speech**   **this-REF-OD**
             TOPIC 2

             xijjek   *ze-di-de*   *ren*   *ra*
             research   do-PROGR-ATTR   person   also
             FOCUS

             zaige   *do-li*
             some   (be) many-SEN.INF
             'Therefore, nowadays, this language, as for it, there are quite many people doing research on it.' (The Wutun Village)

The first topic *jhang menzai*, 'nowadays' sets the temporal scene for the utterance, while the topics *je-de hua*, this-ATTR language, 'this language', *je-ge-ha*, this-REF-OD, 'this (language)' are targets for the comment 'there are many people doing research on it', which conveys new information. The topic *je-ge-ha*, this-REF-OD, 'this (language)' occurs with the optional dative marker *-ha* that emphasizes its topicality.

Example (690) illustrates another clause with two topics:

(690)   *da*   **jhang menzai**   **hai-la**
          then   **nowadays**   **EQU-COND**
                    TOPIC 1

          ayi-jhege   *ra*   *ki*
          woman-PAUC   also   also
          TOPIC 2

          jjhen-de   *da*   *she-li-de*   *laiga-de*   *hanqai*
          often-ATTR then   home-LOC-ATTR   work-ATTR   except
                          FOCUS

          dawo   *ma-ge*   *wanlan-di-de*   *re*   *sho-la*
          still   what-REF do-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT   say-COND

          da   *awo-jhege* *pa-ze-ma*
          then   man-PAUC   help-do-COORD

          en   *lha*   *mu*   *zaimazai* *hua-de*
          then   deity   TOP   sometimes paint-NMLZ
          'Then, nowadays, as for the women, in addition to the housework, what they are still doing, to say something about that, they help men (in thangka painting) and sometimes they also paint thangkas…' (The Wutun Village)

As in (689), the first topic *jhang menzai*, 'nowadays' sets the temporal scene, while the noun *ayi-jhege*: woman-PAUC, 'women' serves as the second topic, which is target for comments. The rest of the sentence belongs to the focus domain and it conveys new information about the Wutun women's work.

We have seen that double topics in the clause offer different viewpoints to event construal. When there is more than one topic in the clause, the first topic often sets the spatial or temporal scene for the utterance, while the second topic denotes the main participant in the situation that the utterance is about. Another type of multiple topic construction involves an agent-topic and a optional dative that occurs with the optional dative marker *-ha*. In clauses with an agent-topic and a optional dative, one of the topics functions as the *primary topic* that is the most salient participant in the situation, while another topic is the *secondary topic*. A new utterance that belongs to the focus domain conveys new information about the relationship between the primary topic and the secondary topic.

8.4 Optional dative marker -*ha* and Differential Object Marking

A conspicuous feature in Wutun grammar is the presence of the element -*ha*, which often occurs with non-agent arguments, such as the topicalized Patient *bianshe*, 'dumplings' in (691):

(691)   *bianshe-**ha***   *gek*   *qe-she-lio*
            dumpling-**OD**   dog   eat-RES.AO-PFV

            ze-li
            EXEC-SEN.INF
            'The dumplings were eaten by a dog.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The morpheme -*ha* has cognates in several other varieties of Northwest Mandarin spoken in Amdo Sprachbund, such as Linxia, Gangou, Tangwang, Xunhua and Huangshui (previously known as Xining dialect). In earlier publications on Wutun and the other Sinitic languages of the region, this morpheme has usually been analyzed as a marker of accusative (Lee-Smith and Wurm 1996: 887; Zhu et al 1997: 444) or dative-accusative (Lee-Smith 1996a: 866; 1996b: 876; Slater 2001). In her preliminary work on Xunhua, Dwyer (1995: 153) concludes that -*ha* has a highlighting function, and treats it as a focus marker. Dede (2007) analyzes the morpheme *xa* in Huangshui as an anti-ergative that marks direct and indirect objects. He notes that this marker also functions as a conditional and topic marker in some sub-dialects of Huangshui and hypothesizes that the meaning of *xa* may have extended from a topic marker to the object marker that marks highly topical objects (Dede 2007: 875-877). It remains unclear to what extent the cognates of -*ha* have identical functions in various forms of Northwest Mandarin. However, at least in Wutun, -*ha* is always optional and it expresses a variety of functions on two different linguistic levels: semantic and pragmatic. On the semantic level, -*ha* is associated with low agentivity and it highlights the most affected participant in the clause. On the pragmatic level, -*ha* expresses functions associated with topicality, emphasis and contrast, such as contrastive topic or change of topic in a conversation. I have therefore analyzed it as an optional dative marker, which is used with semantically or pragmatically marked non-agent arguments (see Section 3.3.5). In this section, I will first examine the semantic roles with which -*ha* can occur. Then I will discuss the various pragmatic functions of -*ha*.

In my data, *-ha* occurs with almost any other semantic role than Agent. It is often used with Patients:

(692)   *zhawa-de*   *ro-**ha***
        disciple-ATTR   corpse-**OD**

        tu-li   *xaima-li*   *mai-she-ma*
        earth-LOC   sand-LOC   bury-RES.AO-COORD
        'The disciple's corpse, (he) buried it into the sandy soil and then…'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In addition to Patients, *-ha* is common with Recipients (as in 693 and 694) and Causees (as in 695):

(693)   *adia-**ha***   *kadak-ge*   *ka-lio*
        monk-**OD**   ritual scarf-REF   give-PFV

        ze-li   *lama*
        do-SEN.INF   lama
        '(He) gave the monk a ritual scarf, the lama.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(694)   *gu*   *nga-**ha***   *yenyek*
        3SG   1SG.OBL-**OD**   English

        jho-di-de   *re*
        teach-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT
        'S/he is teaching me English.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(695)   *aba*   *aga-**ha***   *qhichai*
        father   elder brother.**OD**   car

        mai-ge-di-li
        sell-CAUS-PROGR-SEN.INF
        'The father makes the elder brother to sell his car.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The optional dative marker *-ha* also marks Experiencers:

(696)   *nia-**ha***   *dun-li=a*
        2SG.OBL-**OD** cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
        'Are you feeling cold?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(697)   gu-**ha**   e-di-li
        3SG-**OD**   hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF
        'S/he is hungry.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Less common uses for -*ha* include marking Possessors (as in 698 and 699) and locative phrases (as in 700):

(698)   ni   liang-ge-**ha** dong   wu-ge   yek=mu
        2SG   two-REF-**OD** thousand   five-REF   EXIST=EMPH
        'You two will have five thousand (yuan), right?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(699)   gu-**ha**   gejhai-de   she   yek
        3SG-**OD**   self-ATTR   house   EXIST
        'S/he has his/her own house.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(700)   gu   selang-**ha** lhojjhong-qhi-de   re
        3SG   Xining-**OD** study-go-NMLZ   FACT
        'S/he will (certainly) go to Xining for a study.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The optional dative marker -*ha* can also be used in vocatives to address another person:

(701)   da   zhawa-**ha**   ni   bai-qhi
        then   disciple-**OD** 2SG   PROH-go
        'Disciple, you should not go.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Sometimes the optional dative marker -*ha* is used in involuntary Agent constructions, in which the Agent does not act intentionally, and therefore does not fulfill the features of a typical Agent, as in (703):

(702)   enian   cakara   gu   chapi
        child   on purpose   that   teacup

        da-pe-gu-lio
        hit-get broken-COMPL-PFV
        'The child broke that teacup on purpose.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(703) *enian-**ha*** *mi-jedo-ma* *gu* *chabi*
       child-**OD** NEG-know-COORD that teacup

       da-pe-gu-lio
       hit-get broken-COMPL-PFV
       'The child broke that teacup accidentally.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The example (702) without -*ha* could be uttered in a context in which the Agent *enian*, 'the child' has broken the cup intentionally, while the example (703) with -*ha* could be uttered in a context in which the Agent *enian*, 'the child' did not break the cup intentionally. In (703), the primary strategy for marking non-volitionality is the non-final verb construction *mi-jedo-ma*: NEG-know-COORD, 'without noticing', but the optional dative marker -*ha* further emphasizes that the Agent did not act intentionally and should not be regarded as guilty for the accident.

We can see from the examples (691)-(703) above that -*ha* is related to low agentivity. It highlights an argument that has a semantic role other than Agent, or indicates that the Agent does not fulfill all the features of a prototypical Agent, such as volitionality. In many cases -*ha* conveys a sense of affectedness. Here I have defined the notion of affectedness very loosely to comprise not only a salient change of state (as in the case of Patients) or the main target of transfer events (as in the case of Recipients) but also subjective changes such as bodily processes and emotions. The referent marked by -*ha* is often an acted-upon, non-volitional participant in the situation. In my data, -*ha* was most commonly used in ditransitive and causative clauses (as in 693-695), which typically have two animate arguments. In these cases, its use could be to some extent be motivated by the need to disambiguate between two potential Agents.

However, argument disambiguation and non-volitionality alone cannot predict the occurrence of -*ha*. As illustrated by the examples (704)-(706), -*ha* is not obligatory in all the clauses with two animate arguments and an affected participant:

(704) *ngu* ***nia*** *sha-zhe*
       1SG **2SG.OBL** kill-PROSP
       'I will kill you.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(705) *ngu*   ***nia***   *gozema*   *taima*   *qhi-hua*   *jho*
       1SG   **2SG.OBL**   method   bike   ride-way of   teach
       'Let me teach you how to ride a bike (lit. a bike-riding-method).' (Bike)

(706) *ggaiggan*   ***lhoma***   *she-li*   *qhi-gu-ge-lio*
       teacher   **student**   house-LOC   go-COMPL-CAUS-PFV
       'The teacher sent the student home (lit. made the student go home).'
       (Myrtle Cairangji)

It is also worth noting that first and second person singular pronouns that are the most prototypical Agents always appear in the oblique case when they have a semantic role other than Agent, so in these cases *-ha* is not needed for argument disambiguation, but it still widely occurs with personal pronouns. Therefore, we can conclude that although *-ha* can only be used with non-volitional or affected participants that represent a low degree of agentivity, its occurrence is not determined only by semantic factors and it is necessary to examine the pragmatic contexts in which it is used. When we examine how *-ha* is used in texts and conversations, we will see that it often occurs with topical arguments. An argument that has been introduced and integrated into discourse, and is therefore definite and easily identifiable, is more likely to be marked by *-ha* than an argument that is newly introduced:

(707) *zhawa*   *ta*   *ra*   *qhi-zhe*   *sho-de*   *kuli*
       disciple   3SG   also   go-PROSP   say-ATTR   time

       *zhawa-**ha***   *ra*   *nia*   *xakmo-ge*
       disciple-**OD**   also   2SG.OBL   pearl-REF

       ssek-la-ge   *ze-ma*
       see-INCOMPL-REF   do-COORD
       'When the disciple said that he would also go, they asked (the lama) to also look at the divination ball for him…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In (699), the argument *zhawa*, 'disciple' is first introduced to the discourse. After it has been introduced and it is therefore definite and identifiable for both the speaker and the addressee, it occurs with the optional dative marker *-ha*.

One of the most common pragmatic functions of *-ha* is contrastiveness, as in (708) and (709):

(708)　　*ya*　　　*ngu*　　　*nia*　　　*din-yek*
　　　　　INTJ　　　1SG　　　2SG.OBL　　wait-EGO
　　　　　'Ok, I will wait for you (asserting a plain fact).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(709)　　*ngu*　　　*nia-ha*　　　*din-di-yek*
　　　　　1SG　　　2SG.OBL-OD　　wait-PROGR-EGO
　　　　　'I am waiting for *you* (and not somebody else).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Example (708) is a pragmatically neutral statement in which the speaker is merely stating a fact that s/he is waiting for the addressee, while in (709) the speaker emphasizes that s/he is waiting for the addressee and not somebody else. From a typological perspective, examples (708) and (709) can be analyzed as Differential Object Marking (DOM). Languages with DOM mark overtly some of their O arguments, but not others, according to semantic or pragmatic factors (Aissen 2003: 436). The most common factors that condition the marking of O in world's languages are animacy and definiteness. However, DOM can also be based on pragmatic factors, such as topicality. This type of DOM is particularly common in East and South-East Asian languages (Iemmolo 2011: 210). For example, in Kurtöp (Tibeto-Burman, Bhutan) one set of verbs leave their O arguments unmarked in pragmatically neutral, plain-fact statements but mark them with locative case markers if the O expresses contrast (Hyslop 2010: 23). The pragmatic factors conditioning DOM in Kurtöp resemble the Wutun system, in which O arguments are overtly marked by *-ha* if they express contrastiveness.

　　　Another instance of contrastiveness is illustrated by (710):

(710)　　*yidaze-ha*
　　　　　all-OD

　　　　　nga-ha　　　*zzon-la-da*　　　　　*gu*　　　*gu-duru*
　　　　　1SG.OBL-OD　for someone-ABL-then　　that　　that-PL

　　　　　xaige　　　*xang~xang-de-ge*　　　　　　　*hai-de*
　　　　　very　　　　delicious~delicious-NMLZ-REF　　EQU-NMLZ

　　　　　mende-ge　　　　*hai-li*　　　*da*
　　　　　like that-REF　　　EQU-SEN.INF　then
　　　　　'All the people, or at least I, find this kind of (traditional food) very delicious. (lit. For everyone, or at least for me, this kind of (traditional food) is very delicious).' (Traditional Food)

In (710), the speaker first starts telling that all the people in her village like traditional food. She emphasizes the Experiencer *yidaze*, 'everyone', with *-ha*. However, the speaker changes her mind while talking (she later explained to me that she suddenly realized that she cannot know whether everybody likes the same dishes as she does, and she can only tell her own opinion). She then uses *-ha* to contrast her opinion with other people's potentially different opinions.

In addition to DOM, *-ha* in Wutun can express Differential Goal Marking. Differential Goal Marking is a phenomenon in which Recipients and Goals in ditransitive clauses are marked differently according to animacy; Recipients are animate while Goals are inanimate and this difference is reflected in their grammatical coding (Kittilä 2008: 247-248). In Wutun, Recipients are often marked by *-ha*, while Goals are unmarked, or they can be marked by the postposition *kema*, 'side':

(711) *ggaiggan* *payiwa-**ha*** *huaiqa-ge* *dai-gu-lio*
      teacher   friend-**OD**   book-REF   send-COMPL-PFV
      'The teacher sent a book to the friend.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(712) *ggaiggan* *xaitang* ***kema*** *huaiqa-ge* *dai-gu-lio*
      teacher   school   **side**   book-REF   send-COMPL-PFV
      'The teacher sent a book to the school.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Therefore, in Wutun animacy seems to have more effect on coding of R arguments than coding of O arguments, whose grammatical marking is based exclusively on pragmatic factors. However, it has to be noted that *-ha* is not obligatory in all the ditransitive clauses with Recipient and it is likely that its use in ditransitive clauses is also conditioned by same kind of pragmatic factors as its use in transitive clauses. Most of my examples of ditransitive clauses are from elicited sentences without discourse context, so the pragmatic factors conditioning the use of *-ha* in ditransitive clauses are not yet fully understood. For more examples of *-ha* in ditransitive clauses, see Section 8.2.3.

The optional dative marker *-ha* can express a change of topic in a conversation or switch in speaker's attention, as in :

(713) A: *nia*   *dun-li=a*
                  2SG.OBL   cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
                  'Are you feeling cold?'

B: *en*   *zaige*   *dun-li*
        yes   a little   cold-SEN.INF
        'Yes, (I am feeling) a little cold.'

A: *nia-**ha***   *dun-li=a*
        2SG.OBL-**OD**   cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
        'And how about you, are *you* feeling cold?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (713) the speaker first asks an addressee if s/he is feeling cold and then turns to another addressee and asks the same question using *-ha*, which signals the change of an addressee in a conversation, as well as switch in speaker's attention.

Example (714) illustrates how *-ha* can be used to bring out a topic, which has been mentioned earlier in the discourse and is reactivated later:

(714)   *caixi*   *caixi*   **xan**   *qe-she-ma-li*
        tonight   tonight   **cord**   tie-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF

        ma-ge-de   *ni-de*   *je*
        what-REF-ATTR   2SG-ATTR   this

        adia   *u*   *jhang-de*   *hanqai*   *cenqai*
        monk   INTJ   today-ATTR   except   except

        ni   *ren*   *sewo*   *hai-li*
        2SG   person   dead   EQU-SEN.INF

        ngu   *ren*   *sunbo-li*
        1SG   person   alive-SEN.INF

        ngu   *liang-ge-de*   *kancan*
        1SG   two-REF-ATTR   connection

        jhang-de   *hanqai*   *caitan-lio-zhe*   *sho-ma*
        today-ATTR   except   cut-PFV-PROSP   QUOT-RES

        *xan-**ha***
        cord-**OD**

        adia   *daijhe-liangge*   *xan*   *getan-lio*
        monk   knife-SOC   cord   cut-PFV
        'Tonight you have (also) tied a cord, what do you mean by that? (The zombie
        asked.) The monk said: 'Oh, from today you are dead and I am alive, our
        connection will be cut off.' As for the cord, the monk cut it with a knife.'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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The topic *xan*, 'cord' is introduced in the first clause, but it is not mentioned in the three following clauses. The topic is activated again in the fourth clause by the clause-initial position and the optional dative marker *-ha*.

Wutun optional dative marking is an example of "pragmatic" or "optional" case marking systems that are found in several Tibeto-Burman languages. In Tibeto-Burman, it is common to have non-obligatory case markers whose functions extend beyond distinguishing arguments in the clause and they can denote a variety of semantic and pragmatic functions, such as agentivity, perfectivity and contrast (DeLancey 2011: 9). Examples of optional case marking systems include Differential Object Marking in Dolakha Newar (Genetti 1997), semantic role markers in Meithei (Chelliah 2009), pragmatic ergative and Differential Object Marking in Kurtöp (Hyslop 2010) and optional, pragmatically conditioned agentive marking in Yongning Na (Lidz 2011). Topic markers that are connected to the agentivity of the argument have been documented in Sumi (Teo 2012). One of the closest equivalents to Wutun *-ha* is the optional object marker (also called "anti-ergative") in the Lolo-Burmese language Lahu. The object marker is particularly common in ditransitive clauses with two animate arguments and one of its key functions is argument disambiguation in clauses with two potential Agents, while with inanimate nouns it is only used "for special contrast or emphasis" (Matisoff 2003: 212, 215). Optional object markers, whose occurrence is conditioned by topicality, have been analyzed in terms of Differential Object Marking in studies on Sino-Tibetan languages (Iemmolo 2011: 210).

It can be hypothesized that *-ha* originated as a topic marker that was primarily related to the information structure, and it later grammaticalized towards a more specific object marker (or "anti-ergative"), whose occurrence is favored with animate and definite objects. In many Sino-Tibetan languages, DOM was initially triggered by information-structural factors, but it has later become to be associated with datives, as well as human/animate and definite/specific direct objects. Animacy and definiteness are connected with given information and highly identifiable referents, features that are crucial for topicality. Therefore, topic markers can easily extend their meaning and become markers of animate and definite objects (Iemmolo 2011: 116, 223). In addition, topical objects can be argued to be more affected than non-topical ones, because topicality makes them more salient: more significant and more of interest for the addressee. Salience, in turn, is one of the dimensions along which the degree of affectedness can be measured (Næss 2004: 1202). Dede (2007: 875-877) hypothesizes that a grammaticalization process from topic marker towards an object marker may have taken place in case of Huangshui *xa* and on the basis of my observations, a similar mechanism may

be at work in case of Wutun *-ha*. It is important to note that while reanalysis from topic marker towards an object marker is common both cross-linguistically and in Sinitic languages[17], in the Sinitic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund this process has most probably been further triggered by areal interference from non-Sinitic languages, notably Amdo Tibetan, whose dative case marks animate direct objects and indirect objects (see Dede 2007: 870-873 for discussion).

To summarize, the optional dative marker *-ha* in Wutun can be used with non-agent arguments or involuntary Agents. On the semantic level, it highlights the affectedness and low degree of agentivity of the participant. It is particularly common in ditransitive clauses and causatives with two animate participants and in these cases its use might to some extent be motivated by argument disambiguation. However, the occurrence of *-ha* does not depend exclusively on semantic factors and it is important to consider the pragmatic contexts in which it is used. On the pragmatic level, *-ha* is connected to the topicality and contrastiveness. It often expresses definite arguments, contrastive arguments, change of topic in a conversation, switch in speaker's attention, or re-activation of a previously mentioned topic in a conversation. The optional dative marker *-ha* expresses Differential Object Marking and Differential Goal Marking. In transitive clauses, O arguments take *-ha* if they are pragmatically marked (e.g. contrastive), while in pragmatically neutral plain-fact statements they do not take *-ha*. In ditransitive clauses, *-ha* is common with Recipients, but it is not used with Goals. Systems of optional case marking connected to topicality, which resemble the Wutun *-ha*, have been documented in several Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in other Sinitic languages of the Amdo Sprachbund.

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[17] According to Dede (2007: 875), the morpheme *xa* in Huangshui Chinese may be etymologically related to the morpheme *ba* (把), which expresses Differential Object Marking in Standard Mandarin.

9 Interrogation, Negation and Imperatives

The previous chapters of this dissertation have mainly dealt with declarative clauses. This chapter focuses on non-declarative clauses. More specifically, it presents interrogative clauses (Section 9.1), negation (Section 9.2) and imperatives (Section 9.3). Interrogation in Wutun is expressed via interrogative clitics, interrogative pronouns or syntactic constructions that involve repeating the verb in the clause. An interesting aspect of Wutun interrogation is the interaction between interrogation and egophoric marking. It allows distinguishing rhetorical questions from questions that are true requests for information (Section 9.1.4), and causes asymmetry between the declarative and interrogative paradigms (Section 9.1.5). Constructions expressing negation include negative prefixes, negative copulas and a negative indefinite pronoun 'nothing'. While negative prefixes express standard negation and negative imperatives, negation of copula clauses and nominalized clauses, as well as various types of non-clausal negation are expressed via negative copulas. In imperatives distinctions are made for first, second and third person, although Wutun has no person marking in other contexts.

9.1 Interrogation

Interrogative clauses in Wutun include polar questions (Section 9.1.1), content questions (Section 9.1.2), alternative questions (Section 9.1.3) and rhetorical questions (Section 9.1.4). A striking feature in Wutun is the asymmetry between declarative and interrogative clauses, which is due to interaction between interrogation and egophoric marking. In interrogatives egophoric markers are used differently from declaratives, so in most cases interrogative clauses have egophoric morphology different from declarative clauses, or there are fewer choices for egophoric marking available in interrogative paradigms. Asymmetry between declaratives and interrogatives is dealt with in Section 9.1.5.

9.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are questions to which the expected answer is either 'yes' or 'no'. There are two strategies of forming polar questions. The polar questions can be formed by means of interrogative clitics =*a* or =*mu* (Section 9.1.1.1) or by using the verb first in the positive form and then repeating it in its negative form (Section 9.1.1.2).

9.1.1.1 Interrogative clitics =*a* and =*mu*

The most common strategy for forming polar questions in Wutun is by means of interrogative clitics. Examples (715)-(718) illustrate polar questions formed by the interrogative clitic =*a*, as well as their declarative counterparts:

(715)   *je*   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-li=**a***
        this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-SEN.INF=**INTERR**
        'Is this your book?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(716)   *je*   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   *hai-yek*
        this   1SG-ATTR   book   EQU-EGO
        'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(717)   *gu-jhege*   *rek*   *qe-di-li=a*
              3-PAUC   meat   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
              'Do they (the people in this country) eat meat?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(718)   *cancanma* *zaigezai* *qe-di-li*
              sometimes a little   eat-PROGR-SEN.INF
              'Sometimes they eat a little (meat).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Another interrogative clitic for forming polar questions is =mu, as illustrated by the examples (719) and (720). This marker represents a grammatical borrowing from Bonan, which has an interrogative marker =*mu* based on the interrogative suffix -*u* and the narrative suffix -*m* (Fried 2010: 259):

(719)   *gu*   *xan*   *ni*   *getan-lio=**mu***
              that   cord   2SG   cut-PFV=**INTERR**
              'That cord, did you cut it?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(720)   *alak*   *ngu*   *caixi*   *xan*   *getan-lio*
              lama   1SG   yesterday evening   cord   cut-PFV
              'Lama, yesterday evening I cut the cord.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(721)   *chenzang ben-de*   *jhege*
              PN-ATTR   a few

              *lai-gu-ma-li=**mu***
              come-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF=**INTERR**
              'Did Chenzang Ben's few (family members) come (back from Central Tibet)?'
              (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Polar questions are formed by adding the interrogative clitic on the verb and there are no structural differences between the declarative and interrogative clauses. However, preferred choices for egophoric marking morphemes in interrogatives differ from those in declaratives, which causes asymmetry between declarative and interrogative paradigms (see Section 9.1.5). The choice of an interrogative clitic depends on the aspect. While =*a* is used in imperfective (as in 715 and 717) or progressive aspect, =*mu* is used in perfective (as in 719) or resultative aspect (as in 721).

Sometimes the interrogative clitic =*a* is fused with the sensory-inferential evidential -*li*, yielding the interrogative marker =*la*:

(722)   *ni-de*   *aba*   *yi*   *tian*   *yi*   *poqia*
        2SG-ATTR   father   one   day   one   package

        gek=la
        (be) enough=**SEN.INF.INTERR**
        'Is one package (of cigarettes) a day enough for your father?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The interrogative clitic =*mu* can be used as an emphatic marker, rather than a true question marker:

(723)   *xaitang-de*   *wu-ra*   *ayi-ge*   *yek-li=**mu***
        school-ATTR   DIST-ABL   woman-REF   EXIST-SEN.INF=**EMPH**
        'You know, there was a lady near the school…' (Conversation 1_School)

To sum up, Wutun has two interrogative clitics, =*a* and =*mu*, that are used for forming polar questions. The clitic =*mu* also functions as an emphatic marker, and this usage may have given rise to the topic marker *mu* discussed in Section 8.3.2. The choice of an interrogative clitic depends on the aspect of the verb. There are no structural differences between the declarative and interrogative clauses, but preferred choices for egophoric marking differ in declaratives and interrogatives.

9.1.1.2 A-not-A questions

Another type of polar questions, often referred as A-not-A questions (Li and Thompson 1981: 535) are formed by using the verb in the positive form and then repeating it in its negative form, as in (724):

(724)   *zang*   *jja-la-gu-la*   *waiqai*
        Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-COMPL-COND   hardship

        yek   ***mi-yek***
        EXIST   **EXIST.NEG-EGO**
        'If you visited Tibet, would there be any hardships (lit. If you visited Tibet, there exist not exist hardships)?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

A-not-A questions are common in Sinitic languages. In Wutun, however, they appear to be less common than in Standard Mandarin. My data contains only a few examples of A-not-A questions, while the most common strategy for forming polar questions is by means of interrogative clitics. In terms of their structure, A-not-A questions look similar to alternative questions (see Section 9.1.3), since both of them involve repeating the predicate. However, A-not-A questions are one strategy of forming polar questions and the answer to them is either 'yes'or 'no', while the answer to the alternative questions is one of the alternatives introduced in the question (such as 'student' or 'teacher').

9.1.2 Content questions

Content questions contain an interrogative pronoun such as *ma-ge*, 'what' in (725) or *a-li*, 'where' in (726). A complete list of interrogative pronouns is provided in Section 4.5.3; here are two examples of content questions as well as their answers:

(725)   A: *loshe*   **ma-ge**   *sho-li*
                teacher   **what-REF**   say-SEN.INF
                'What did the teacher say?'

           B: *loshe*   *xho-li*   *sho-li*
                teacher   good-SEN.INF   say-SEN.INF
                'The teacher said it was (a) good (idea).'(Conversation 1_School)

(726)   C: *da*   **a-li**   *yek-li*
                now   **where**   EXIST-SEN.INF
                'Where are (they) now? (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

           D: *sangdek*   *she-li*   *yek-li*
                PN   home-LOC   EXIST-SEN.INF
                'Sangdek is at home…' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

While to the polar questions the expected answer is either 'yes' or 'no', the content questions elicit a specific answer other than 'yes' or 'no' (such as *xho*, 'it was good' in 725). Wutun content questions are structurally symmetric with the corresponding declarative clauses so that the only difference to the declaratives is the presence of an interrogative pronoun.

9.1.3 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are formed by introducing the first alternative in an interrogative phrase and then providing the second alternative in a declarative phrase:

(727) *ni*　　　　*xaitangwa*　*hai-yek=mu*　　　　*ggaiggan*　*hai-yek*
　　　　2SG　　　student　　**EQU-EGO=INTERR**　teacher　　**EQU-EGO**
　　　　'Are you a student or a teacher (lit. Are you a student you are a teacher)?'
　　　　(Myrtle Cairangji)

(728) *ni*　　　　*kafei*　　*xhe-zhe=mu*　　　　*cha*
　　　　2SG　　　coffee　　**drink-PROSP=INTERR**　tea

　　　　xhe-zhe
　　　　drink-PROSP
　　　　'Would you like to drink coffee or tea (lit. Do you drink coffee you drink tea)?'
　　　　(Myrtle Cairangji)

Alternative questions explicitly present the addressee with a choice of two possible answers, such as *xaitangwa hai-yek*: pupil EQU-EGO, '(I) am a student' or *ggaiggan hai-yek*: teacher EQU-EGO, (I) am a teacher in (727). The possible answers to such question are connected by the interrogative marker *=mu*, which is attached to the first of the two alternative answers. The alternative questions in Wutun are functionally equivalent to Standard Mandarin questions containing the word *háishi*, 'or' (see Li and Thompson 1981: 532), although in Wutun they are formed by connecting the two alternative answers by means of an interrogative clitic rather than a separate conjunction.

9.1.4 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are formed by means of an interrogative pronoun and the factual evidential *re* (see also Section 6.2.3.1). Content questions (see Section 9.1.2) and rhetorical questions are structurally similar in a way that both are formed by using an interrogative pronoun; however, content questions always contain either ego or sensory-inferential evidential, while rhetorical questions always contain a factual evidential. By using the factual

evidential instead of ego or sensory-inferential evidential the speaker indicates that the question is not a true request for information, as in (729):

(729)   *nia*   *zang*   *jja-la-de*   *lai*
           2SG.OBL   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-NMLZ   destiny

           yek-ma   *nga*   *a-menzai-li*
           EXIST-COORD   1SG.OBL   how-SEN.INF

           mi-lio-de   ***re***
           EXIST.NEG-PFV-NMLZ   **FACT**
           'If you have the destiny of going to Tibet, why wouldn't I have it?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(729) is spoken in a context where a character of a folktale, a monk reminds his disciple about lama's prediction that it is not the disciple's destiny to go for a pilgrimage to Lhasa and he should not come with the monk; however, the disciple refuses to listen to the prediction and challenges the monk by using a rhetorical question.

In (730) the speaker is suggesting a topic for discussion, rather than requesting new information:

(730)   *gu*   *a-menzai*   *wanlan-de*   *yo-de*   ***re***
           that   how   make-NMLZ   NEC-NMLZ   **FACT**
           'How do you make that thing (the pearl thangka)?'
           (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(730) is spoken in a context where four male speakers are discussing about making and selling thangkas in the presence of the researchers. Since the members of the Wutun community are all very familiar with the different techniques of making thangkas, it is unlikely that the speaker of does not really know how to make a pearl thangka; the example rather means something like 'please tell our guests how do we make pearl thangkas'.

Questions with the factual evidential can also be used in contexts where the speaker thinks that s/he should know the answer, as in (731):

(731) *jen-shek*   *a-ge-de*   *re*
       right-hand   who-REF-ATTR   FACT

       do-shek   *a-ge-de*   ***re***
       left-hand   who-REF-ATTR   **FACT**
       'Which one is right and which one is left (I should know but I don't know)?'
       (Bike)

In (731), the character of the narrative feels that he should be able to distinguish right and left, but he is confused and is not able to do it at the moment. Moreover, he is thinking about the question by himself and does not expect anybody to answer him.

9.1.5 Asymmetry between declaratives and interrogatives

In Wutun, there is a special relationship between interrogation, egophoric marking and person, which causes asymmetry between declaratives and interrogatives. Before proceeding, it is necessary to make a distinction between different types of asymmetries (the terminology used here is taken from Miestamo 2005, 2013, who originally discusses symmetric and asymmetric standard negation in his article). The asymmetry can be between the *constructions*, so that the interrogative constructions show structural differences in comparison to corresponding declarative constructions. There can also be asymmetry between the *paradigms* so that all verbal categories do not have corresponding declarative and interrogative forms. In Wutun the asymmetry between declaratives and interrogatives is paradigmatic; there are no structural differences between the constructions, but choices for egophoric marking in interrogatives differ from those in declaratives so that there is no one-to one correspondence between the declarative and interrogative paradigms.

The ego evidential *-yek* is typically used in first person declaratives, (as in 732). In second person declaratives (as in 733), the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* is preferred instead of ego evidential. In interrogatives, the perspective is reversed, with the ego evidential used in second person interrogatives (as in 734) and the sensory-inferential evidential in first person interrogatives (as in 735):

(732) *ngu-de*   *minze-li*   *dongzhek*   *sho-**yek***
       1SG-ATTR   name-LOC   PN   say-**EGO**
       'My name is Dongzhou.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

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(733) *ni-de*   *minze*   *dojjai nanjia*   *hai-li*
      2SG-ATTR   name   PN   EQU-**SEN.INF**
      'Your name is Dojjai Namgyal.' (Cairangji)

(734) *ni-de*   *minze-li*   *ma*   *sho-yek*
      2SG-ATTR   name-LOC   what   say-**EGO**
      'What is your name?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(735) *nga-mu*   *liang-ge-de*   *tangga*   *jhi-ge*
      1-COLL   two-REF-ATTR   thangka   howmany-REF

      yai   *wanlan-lio*   *ze-li*
      month   do-PRF   **EXEC-SEN.INF**
      'For how many months have our thangkas been made?'
      (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

It is important to note that egophoric marking in Wutun is not a strict, agreement-like system (see Section 7.2 for discussion). Any of the evidential morphemes participating in egophoric marking can be used with any person, and all of them can be used in questions as well (the only exception are the polar questions marked by the interrogative morpheme =a, which will be discussed later in this section). However, there is a strong tendency to use the ego evidential *-yek* in first person statements and second person questions, while the sensory-inferential evidential *-li* is usually used in second person statements and first person questions. If the factual evidential *re* is used in questions, it indicates that the question is a rhetorical question, which is not a true request for information (see Section 9.1.4).

In third person, both declaratives and interrogatives usually take the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*:

(736) C: *da*   *a-li*   *yek-li*
              now   **where**   EXIST-**SEN.INF**
              'Where are they now?'

      D: *sangdek*   *she-li*   *yek-li*
              PN   home-LOC   **EXIST-SEN.INF**

              gu-jhege   *zang-li*   *wanlan-di-li*
              3-PAUC   Tibet-LOC   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
              'Sangdek is at home, the other people are (still) working in Tibet.'
              (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The structural asymmetries between declaratives and interrogatives we have seen in the examples (732)-(735) apply to content questions marked by an interrogative pronoun or polar questions marked by the interrogative clitic =*mu*. In polar questions marked by the interrogative clitic =*a* there are fewer choices for egophoric marking morphology available than in corresponding declaratives. Only the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* can be used in polar questions marker by the interrogative clitic =*a*:

(737) *je*   *ngu-de*   *huaiqa*   ***hai-yek***
       this   1SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**EGO**
       'This is my book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(738) *je*   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   ***hai-li***
       this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**SEN.INF**
       'This is your book.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(739) *je*   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   ***hai-li*=a**
       this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**SEN.INF=INTERR**

       *je   *ni-de*   *huaiqa*   ***hai-yek*=a**
       this   2SG-ATTR   book   EQU-**EGO=INTERR**
       'Is this your book?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In questions indicated by an interrogative morpheme other than =*a*, the ego evidential -*yek* is characteristically used in second person interrogatives and the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* in first person interrogatives. However, this opposition is neutralized in polar questions marked by the interrogative =*a*. only the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* can be used in interrogatives marked by =*a*, while the use of ego evidential with this interrogative morpheme would be ungrammatical.

With verbs expressing involuntary processes, such as sensory perception, bodily sensations or emotions, the sensory-inferential evidential -*li* is typically used in first person statements to express the speaker's lack of volitionality. Therefore, in case of involuntary verbs, second person interrogatives marked by =*a* are usually symmetric with first person declaratives:

(740) A: *nia*   *dun-**li**=**a***
                    2SG.OBL   cold-**SEN.INF=INTERR**
                    'Are you feeling cold?'

B:	*en*	*zaige*	*dun-li*
	INTJ	a little	cold-**SEN.INF**
	'Yes, (I am feeling) a little cold.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Third person declaratives and interrogatives marked by =*a* are usually symmetric, as in case of other questions:

(741)	*gu-da*	*lhakang*	*do-li=***a**
	there	temple	many-**SEN.INF=INTERR**
	'Are there many churches there?' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(742)	*je-da*	*jjhakai*	*xxanba-de*	*lhakang*	*do-li*
	here	country	other-ATTR	church	many-**SEN.INF**
	'There are many foreign churches here.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

As illustrated by the examples, Wutun has a rather complex system of symmetric and asymmetric interrogation. A possible functional motivation behind the system may be due to the access to the instigation of the event, which is one of the core functions of the Wutun egophoric marking system. In first person statements, the first person has the privileged access to the instigation of the event (which is indicated by the use of ego evidential), while in second person interrogatives the privileged access shifts from the speaker to the addressee. Changes in egophoric marking morphology between the declaratives and interrogatives reflect this shift in the viewpoint of the speaker. This change is less relevant for third person, in which the speaker usually has an external viewpoint to the situation in both declaratives and interrogatives (however, see Section 6.2.2). The system is further complicated by the interrogative morpheme =*a*, which bugs the pattern and only allows the use of sensory-inferential evidential -*li*. The reason why ego-evidentials are not allowed with =*a* still needs further research.

9.2 Negation

Negation is achieved primarily by means of either negative prefixes *be-*, *mi-* and *bai-* or negative copulas *bai* and *mi*. In addition to these, there is a negative indefinite pronoun *mabai*, 'nothing'. Section 9.2.1 deals with clausal negation, including standard negation

(Section 9.2.1.1), negative imperatives (Section 9.2.1.2), negative copula clauses (Section 9.2.1.3), negation of nominalized clauses (Section 9.2.1.4) and double negation (Section 9.2.1.5). Section 9.2.2 discusses non-clausal negation, including negative replies (Section 9.2.2.1) and the negative indefinite pronoun *mabai*, 'nothing' (Section 9.2.2.2).

9.2.1 Clausal negation

Clausal negation includes all the morphosyntactic constructions whose function is to negate a clause. While declarative main clauses and imperatives are negated by means of negative prefixes, negative copulas are used to negate equative, existential, possessive and locative clauses, predicate adjectives and nominalized clauses. Wutun also allows double negation constructions, which make use of both a negative prefix and a negative copula. Double negation clauses differ from all the other clauses with negative morphemes in that they actually have an affirmative meaning. However, in contrast to the "ordinary" affirmative clauses they are pragmatically marked and they can express e.g. a strong degree of certainty from the part of the speaker.

9.2.1.1 Standard negation

Standard negation refers to basic ways a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo 2005: 39). In Wutun, standard negation is expressed by attaching a negative prefix *be-* (SM *bù* 不) (as in 744) or *mi* (SM *méi* 没) (as in 746) to the verb:

(743) *laizha   do-li*
       homework   much-SEN.INF
       '(There) is a lot of homework (to do).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(744) *laizha   **be**-do-li*
       homework   NEG-much-SEN.INF
       '(There) is not much homework (to do).' (Conversation 1_School)

(745) *ngu-de   zhawa   ra   lai-lio*
       1SG-ATTR   disciple   also   come-PRF
       'My disciple came with me.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

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(746)   *da*   ***mi****-lai-lio*   *ze-li*
                then   **NEG-**come-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
                'Then (the disciple) did not come (anymore).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

As in Standard Mandarin, the choice of the negative marker varies according to the aspect. The negative prefix *be-* is generally used in imperfective aspect to negate the existence of an event or a state (as in 744), while the negative prefix *mi-* is used in perfective aspect to negate the completion of an event, and it often co-occurs with the perfective aspect marker *-lio* (as in 746).

     The relationship between negation and aspect is further illustrated by the example (747):

(747)   *en*   *alak*   *ngu*   *getan-**mi**-ha*   *ya*
                INTJ   lama   1SG   cut-NEG-(be) brave   EMPH

                *ge-**be**-ha-li*
                cut-NEG-(be)brave-SEN.INF
                'Oh, lama, I did not have the courage to cut the cord. I do not have the courage to cut the cord.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

In (747) the speaker, a monk, first uses the negative *-mi-* to negate the completion of his action (cutting the cord). Then he uses *-be-* to negate the fact that he would have enough courage to cut the cord. As illustrated by the examples (744)-(747), standard negation in Wutun is symmetric in between both constructions and paradigms, so that the negative constructions do not differ from affirmative ones in any other ways except the presence of the negative morpheme, and all the verbal categories have corresponding affirmative and negative forms.

     In verb-complement constructions (see Section 5.8), the negative marker can be placed immediately before the aspectual complement, implying that only the result or the possibility of the action is negated, and not the action itself:

(748)   *ngu*   *gu-de*   *xhinqe*   *tin-**be**-jhan-li*
                1SG   3SG-ATTR   voice   listen-**NEG**-see-SEN.INF
                'I cannot hear his/her voice (lit. I listen but cannot hear).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

9.2.1.2 Negative imperatives

Imperatives are negated by means of the prohibitive prefix *bai-* (SM *bié* 别):

(749)   *da*   *zhawa-ha*   ***bai-qhi***
         then   disciple-OD   **PROH-**go
         'Disciple, you should not go.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(750)   *ni*   ***bai-man-da***
         2SG   **PROH-**(be) busy-IMP
         'Don't hurry!' (Bike)

As in the case of standard negation, negative imperatives are symmetric with positive imperatives. Their only difference to corresponding positive imperatives is the presence of the negative morpheme:

(751)   *ni*   *bimian*   *kan*
         2SG   behind   look
         'Watch behind me!' (Bike)

(752)   *ni*   *yiqang*   *co-da*
         2SG   a:while   sit-IMP
         'Wait for a moment!' (Bike)

    Imperatives are discussed in more detail in Section 9.3.

9.2.1.3 Negative copula clauses

Wutun has two negative copulas, *bai* 'not to be' < *be-hai* (SM *bú shì* 不是, 'not to be') and *mi*, 'to not have, there is not' (SM *méi yǒu* 没有, 'there is not'), which correspond one-to one with the positive copulas *hai* 'to be' (SM *shì* 是, 'to be') and *yek* (SM *yǒu* 有, 'there is') (see Section 7.2.4). They have emerged due to coalescence of negative markers used in standard negation and the existential copulas, which is a cross-linguistically common source for negative existentials (see Veselinova 2013: 137-138). The negative equative copula is characteristically used to negate equative predicates (as in 754):

(753)   *gu*   *lhoma*   *hai-li*
         3SG   student   EQU-SEN.INF
         'S/he is a student.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(754)   *gu*   *lhoma*   **bai**-*li*
            3SG   student   **NEG.EQU**-SEN.INF
            'S/he is not a student.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The negative copula *bai* also negates predicate adjectives (as in 755):

(755)   *tianmi momo*   *tian~tian-de*   **bai**-*li*
            kind of sweet bread   sweet~sweet-NMLZ   EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
            'The bread is not very sweet.' (Cairangji)

Another negative copula is the negative existential copula *mi*. Although homonymous with the negative prefix *mi-* discussed in Section 9.2.1.1, the copula *mi* is a distinct element. While the prefix *mi-* is used before the verb in standard negation to negate perfective clauses, the copula *mi* is used as the negative verb in the clause and it characteristically negates existential or locative clauses (as in 756):

(756)   *tian*   *liang-de*   *kuli*   **mi**-*li*
            day   bright-ATTR   time   **EXIST.NEG**-SEN.INF

            sho-li   *zhawa*
            REP-SEN.INF   disciple
            'In the daytime there was no disciple (following him)…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

It is also used to negate predicate possession when the possessor is topical (as in 758):

(757)   *gu-ha*   *gejhai-de*   *she*   *yek*
            3SG-OD   self-ATTR   house   EXIST
            'S/he has his/her own house.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(758)   *gu-ha*   *gejhai-de*   *she*   **mi**-*yek*
            3SG-OD   self-ATTR   house   **NEG.EXIST**-EGO
            'S/he does not have his/her own house.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Finally, there is one special type of copula construction that makes use of the negative existential copula *mi*. Clauses with the progressive aspect marker *-di* are always negated by the copula *mi*:

(759)　　ngu　　　　za-**di**　　　　　　**mi**-yek
　　　　　1SG　　　　smoke-**PROGR**　　　　**NEG.EXIST**-EGO
　　　　　'I do not smoke.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

The use of a copula verb instead of negative prefix in negative possessive constructions is due to the fact that the Wutun progressive aspect marker -*di* is based on a combination of the nominalizer -*de* and the existential copula *yek* and this periphrastic construction is still sometimes used to express progressive aspect. The negative counterpart of the copula *yek* is *mi*, and *mi* is still preserved in negative progressive aspect constructions, even when a more grammaticalized progressive aspect marker -*di* is used instead of the historically older periphrastic construction (see Sections 5.2.1.2 and 5.9.2).

9.2.1.4 Negation of nominalized clauses

In Wutun, constructions consisting of a nominalized clause and a copula verb *hai* have an epistemic or deontic meaning, such as expressing the speaker's degree of certainty towards the denoted event, or the necessity or possibility of an event (see Section 5.9.2). In the negative constructions the copula *hai* is replaced by its negative counterpart *bai*:

(760)　　ngu　　　　lhasa　　　qhi-de　　　hai-yek
　　　　　1SG　　　　Lhasa　　　go-NMLZ　　EQU-EGO
　　　　　'I will (certainly/ have to) go to Lhasa.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(761)　　ngu　　　　menzai　　　wanlan-de　**bai**-yek
　　　　　1SG　　　　like that　　do-NMLZ　　**NEG.EQU**-EGO
　　　　　'I will (certainly) not do like that.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(762)　　gu　　　　lai-de　　　**bai**-li
　　　　　3SG　　　　come-NMLZ　**NEG.EQU**-SEN.INF
　　　　　'S/he will (certainly) not come.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The negative copula *bai* therefore functions as a portmanteau morpheme that expresses both negation and modality. The Wutun negative copula constructions represent a type of asymmetric negation that affects the marking of tense-aspect-mood (see Miestamo 2005: 116). In the affirmative modality is expressed by an affirmative copula, while in the negative it is replaced by the negative copula.

Negative copulas are also used to negate verbs that have an inherent modal meaning, such as *hai*, 'to know how' in (763):

(763)   *gu*   *hu*   *hai-de*   **bai**-*li*
        3SG   swim   to know how-NMLZ   **NEG.EQU**-SEN.INF
        'S/he cannot swim (lit. s/he is not the one who can swim).' (Myrtle Cairangji)

9.2.1.5 Double negation

Negative markers in Wutun can be used in combination with each other to express double negation. Double negation constructions make use of a nominalized clause, which is negated by both a negative prefix and a negative copula verb. Unlike other clauses with negative morphemes, clauses with double negation are actually interpreted as affirmative clauses:

(764)   *gu*   *ngoma-de*   *lai-de*   *re*
        3SG   sure-ADV   come-NMLZ   FACT

        be-*lai-de*   **bai**-*li*
        NEG-come-NMLZ   **EXIST.NEG**-SEN.INF
        'He will surely come, he cannot not to come.'
        (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(765)   *gu-ha*   *ren*   *yidaze*   **be**-*jedo-de-ge*
        3SG-OD   people   all   **NEG**-know-NMLZ-REF

        mi-*li*
        NEG.EXIST-SEN.INF
        'There is nobody who would not know him/her (everyone knows him/her).'
        (Myrtle Cairangji)

While both "ordinary" declarative clauses and clauses with double negation express affirmative meaning, double negation constructions are pragmatically marked and they have connotations related to epistemic modality. They indicate e.g. a strong degree of certainty of the speaker towards the denoted event.

9.2.2 Non-clausal negation

In Section 9.2.1 we have discussed constructions whose function is to negate a clause. In addition to clausal negation, Wutun has two constructions expressing non-clausal negation. Non-clausal negation includes negative replies (Section 9.2.2.1) and the negative indefinite pronoun *mabai*, 'nothing' (Section 9.2.2.2).

9.2.2.1 Negative replies

Negative copulas *bai* and *mi* (see Section 9.2.1.3) can be used to express a denial or contradiction of what someone else has just said, or to give a negative reply to a polar question. In (766), the speaker D uses *bai* to deny what the speaker B has just said about the amount of money each painter gets after selling the thangka, while the speaker C further contradicts the speaker D by using *bai*:

(766) B: *ren-ge-ha*   *dong*   *yizek-ma*
                  person-REF-OD   thousand   one-COORD

                  ek   *bai*
                  two   hundred
                  'Each person (gets) one thousand and two hundred (*yuan*).'

         D: *u*   **bai-li**
                  INTJ   **NEG.EQU-SEN.INF**

                  dong   *yizek-ma*   *yi*   *bai*
                  thousand   one-COORD   one   hundred

                  san-she
                  thirty
                  'Oh, it's not like that, (each person gets) one thousand and one hundred and thirty.'

         C: **bai-li**
                  NEG.EQU-SEN.INF

                  je-ge   *kan-ra*   *do-li*
                  this-REF   look-COND   much-SEN.INF
                  'No it's not, it is more than that…' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

While in clausal negation the negative copulas are used as the only verb in the clause and they always occur in clause-final position (see Sections 9.2.1.3 – 9.2.1.5), in negative replies they occur clause-initially and the final position of the clause is filled by another verb (as in 766).

In (767) the speaker D uses *mi* to give a negative reply to the speaker C's question about smoking. The negative existential copula *mi* is the negative counterpart of the progressive construction *-de yek*:

(767)   C: *ni*   *yan*   *za-de*   *yek*   *ya*
                  2SG   tobacco   smoke-NMLZ EXIST   EMPH
                  'Do you smoke?'

         D: ***mi-yek***
                  NEG.EQU-EGO
                  'No, I don't.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

Alternatively, negative replies can be expressed by using the negative interjection *enhen* together with the negative prefix attached to the verb:

(768)   A: *nia-ha*   *dun-li=a*
                  2SG.OBL-OD cold-SEN.INF=INTERR
                  'And how about you, are you feeling cold?'

         C: ***enhen***   *nga*   *zaige*   *ra*
                  INTJ   1SG.OBL   a little   even

                  be-dun-li
                  NEG-cold-SEN.INF
                  'No, I am not feeling cold at all.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Affirmative replies are usually expressed by using the affirmative interjections *en* or *olai* before the affirmative clause (see Section 7.9.2):

(769)   ***en***   *zaige*   *dun-li*
          INTJ   a little   cold-SEN.INF
          'Yes, (I am feeling) a little cold.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

9.2.2.2 The negative indefinite pronoun *mabai*, 'nothing'

Wutun has one negative indefinite pronoun *mabai*, 'nothing', which is the negative counterpart of the indefinite pronoun *ma-ge*, 'something' (see Section 4.5.5.3):

(770)　*adia*　　　*ra*　　　*sho*　　　*mi-ha-ma*
　　　　monk　　　but　　　say　　　NEG-brave-COORD

　　　　en　　　*en*　　　*gu*　　　*gu*　　　*xan*
　　　　HES　　　HES　　　that　　　that　　　cord

　　　　mabai　　*yek*　　***mabai***　　*yek*
　　　　nothing　　EXIST　　**nothing**　　EXIST
　　　　'But the monk did not have the courage (to tell the zombie the truth) and he
　　　　said: 'Eh, eh, that, that cord, it's nothing, it's nothing.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Except the examples of the pronoun *mabai* that are used in the context of a folktale narrative, I have not found any other actual negative indefinite pronouns in my data. Most of the functions of negative indefinite pronouns in Wutun (such as the meanings 'nobody', 'nowhere' and 'never') are expressed by means of negative existential constructions:

(771)　A:　　　*gu-jhege*　　*pize quandi*
　　　　　　　　3-PAUC　　　leather clothes

　　　　　　　　quan-di-li=a
　　　　　　　　wear-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
　　　　　　　　'Do they (the people in this country) wear leather clothes?'

　　　　B:　　　*yi-jhi-ge*　　　　　*rang*　　　*be-la*
　　　　　　　　one-a few-REF　　　　person　　　NEG-COND

　　　　　　　　mi-li
　　　　　　　　EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
　　　　　　　　'Except just a few people, nobody does.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(772)　*ha*　　　*xaitang-li*　　*da*　　　*gu*　　　*qhi-de*　　　*yi-zek*
　　　　Chinese　　school-LOC　　then　　　that　　　go-NMLZ　　　one

　　　　ra　　　***mi-li***
　　　　even　　　**EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF**
　　　　'None of our schoolchildren goes to Chinese school.' (The Wutun Village)

(773)   *je-de*   *a-la*   *lai-lio*   *mende-ge*
          this-ATTR   somewhere-ABL   come-PFV   like that-REF

          bai-li
          EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
          'As for its (the thangka tradition's) origin, it has not come from somewhere (outside Wutun).' (The Wutun Village)

(774)   *shangnia*   *hai-de-ra-da*
          shangnia   EQU-NMLZ-also-then

          jhang menzai   *shongge*   *wanlan-di* **mi-li**
          nowadays   usually   do-PROGR   **EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF**
          'Shangnia, for example, is never cooked in these days.' (Traditional Food)

Cross-linguistic studies on negation have shown that there is considerable variation in negation of indefinites, quantifiers and adverbs (see Payne 1985: 233; Kahrel and van den Berg 1994). While in some languages indefinites do possess inherently negative counterparts or specifically negated forms, in other languages this is not the case and there may be other syntactic devices for negating them. Wutun belongs to this latter type of languages, since it has only one specifically negative indefinite pronoun and most of its indefinites, quantifiers and adverbs are negated by means of negative existential constructions.

9.3 Imperatives

Imperative mood is indicated by the use of bare stems as well as by various verbal suffixes, in which distinctions are made for person. The imperative markers are listed in Table 24.

Table 24. *Imperative markers*

Ø		second person (polite) imperative
-da	IMP	second person (familiar) imperative
-lai	IMP.1	first person imperative
-ge	CAUS	causative, is used to indicate third person imperative or first person permissive

Second person imperatives are often indicated by a bare stem. While in Wutun it is extremely common to leave subject pronouns unexpressed if they can be inferred from the context, imperatives often contain a subject pronoun:

(775)　　　*ni*　　　　　*xho~xho-de*　　　　　*kan*
　　　　　　2SG　　　　　good~good-ADV　　　　look
　　　　　　'Watch carefully!' (Bike)

(776)　　　*ni*　　　　　*jhai*　　　*sho*
　　　　　　2SG　　　　　self　　　　say
　　　　　　'You speak yourself!' (Conversation 1_School)

(777)　　　*momo*[18]　　*qe*
　　　　　　bread　　　　eat
　　　　　　'Have some bread!' (Overheard example)

(778)　　　*cha*　　　　*xhe*
　　　　　　tea　　　　　drink
　　　　　　'Drink some tea!' (Overheard example)

Alternatively, second person imperatives can be formed with the suffix *-da*:

(779)　　　*ni*　　　　*yiqang*　　*din-**da***　　*ngu*　　　*ra*　　　　*qhi-zhe*
　　　　　　2SG　　　　a while　　wait-**IMP**　　1SG　　　also　　　go-PROSP
　　　　　　'Wait for a moment, I also want to go!' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(780)　　　*ane*　　　*taima-ge-li*　　　　　*ana*　　　*ni*　　　*kan-**da***
　　　　　　INTJ　　　bike-REF-SEN.INF　　　mother　　2SG　　look-**IMP**
　　　　　　'Oh, it's a bike! Mother, look!' (Bike)

The difference between bare stem second person imperatives and second person imperatives marked by the suffix *-da* is that of politeness. Bare stem imperatives are associated with more polite speech, while imperatives formed by *-da* are used in informal or even rude speech. Consider:

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[18] While in Tibetic languages the word *momo* refers to steamed dumplings, in Wutun *momo* means bread cooked in a bread pot.

(781) *cohua*
sit
'Please have a seat!' (polite) (Myrtle Cairangji)

(782) *cohua-da*
sit-**IMP**
'Sit down!' (less polite) (Myrtle Cairangji)

According to my consultants (781) could be said to a guest, while (782) could be uttered in a context where, for example, the speaker is annoyed of a younger sibling who is standing in front of TV and tells him/her to sit down so that's/he can see the program.

First person imperatives are marked by the suffix *-lai* (SM *lái* 来, 'to come'):

(783) *ngu-jhege   guda   xhe-lai   sho-ma*
1-PAUC   there   drink-**1.IMP**   QUOT-RES
'(I said) let's eat over there!' (Picnic)

(784) *ngu-jhege   yida   qhi-lai*
1-PAUC   together   go-**1.IMP**
'Let's go together.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Third person imperatives are expressed by the causative suffix *-ge*:

(785) *gu-ha   xaitang-li   qhi(-gu)-ge*
3SG.OD   school-LOC   go(-COMPL)-**CAUS**
'Let him go to school!' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(786) *gu-ha   menzo   lai-ge*
3SG-OD   tomorrow   come-**CAUS**
'Let him come tomorrow!' (Myrtle Cairangji)

The suffix *-ge* is also used in first person permissives, as in where the speaker asks for a permission to ride a bike from his father:

(787) *ngu   taima   yi-ge   qhi-ge   ya*
1SG   bike   a bit   ride-**CAUS**   EMPH
'Please let me ride the bike!' (Bike)

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We have seen from the examples discussed in this section that Wutun makes a grammatical distinction between second person, first person and third person imperatives. While first person and third person imperatives always contain an imperative suffix, second person imperatives can be expressed by either a bare stem or by an imperative suffix. Second person imperatives expressed by a bare stem are associated with more polite speech than second person imperatives that contain an overt imperative suffix.

10 Clause Combining

Wutun has a number of ways to combine clauses into larger units. The concepts of finiteness, dependency and embedding provide a theoretical framework for describing clause combining in Wutun (Section 10.1). A common strategy for clause combining is by means of clause chaining constructions that consist of strings of non-final clauses and the final clause (Section 10.2). Non-final clauses express either logical or temporal relationship (Section 10.2.1) or modal relationship (Section 10.2.2) between the interlinked clauses. As in many other Sino-Tibetan languages, in Wutun nominalization (Section 10.3) plays a prominent role in clause combining. The nominalizer -*de* is used to form nominal complement clauses (Section 10.3.1), relative clauses (Section 10.3.2) and adverbial subordinate clauses (Section 10.3.3). Quotative complement clauses of verba dicendi form their own distinct type of clause combining constructions (Section 10.4). Finally, coordination of two independent clauses (Section 10.5) is expressed by means of either juxtaposition without any intervening markers (Section 10.5.1) or by the particles *ra* and *da* (Section 10.5.2).

10.1 Preliminaries and key concepts

In this chapter, I will use the concepts of finiteness, dependence and embedding to describe the clause combining phenomena in Wutun. Following functionalist theories, I define finiteness as the degree of integration of a clause into its immediate clausal environment (see Nikolaeva 2011: 7; Cristofaro 2011: 92). A finite clause can stand alone as an independent utterance, while a nonfinite clause is syntactically integrated into a higher clause. This syntactic integration involves a deviation of a verb form used in a nonfinite clause from a prototypical predicate of an independent clause, including the loss of verbal properties (such as tense, aspect, mood or person marking) and the acquisition of nominal properties (such as case, number marking).

In Wutun, finite verbs bear finite morphology, which indicates aspect, voice (causative), mood and evidentiality. Verbs in nonfinite clauses (non-final clauses and nominalizations) do not indicate a full range of grammatical categories specified for finite verbs. They are not inflected for mood and evidentiality and they bear a special morphology showing their relationship to the finite predicate. However, nonfinite verb forms are often inflected for aspect and sometimes they also take causative marking. Some of the nonfinite verb forms have acquired nominal morphology. Nominal complement clauses, for example, are marked for referentiality, while nominalized adverbial clauses expressing causal subordination bear a sociative case marker.

Two other important concepts in a theoretical framework for describing clause combining are dependency and embedding. In a nonfinite clause the verb is not specified for all the grammatical categories that are required for finite status and it therefore must have a syntactic relationship with a finite clause so that the values for the unspecified categories can be specified. This constitutes *dependency*. Another important concept is *embedding*. A clause is embedded if it is a constituent (or a constituent of a constituent) of a superordinate clause, such as argument or an adverbial modifier. Based on these two notions, Foley and Van Valin (1984: 241-242) and Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 453-454) provide a following typology of clause combining strategies:

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Clause combining strategies (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 241-242;
Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 453-454)

-embedded	+dependent	*coordination*
+embedded	+dependent	*subordination*
-embedded	+dependent	*cosubordination*

All the nexus types of this typology are attested in Wutun. A striking feature in Wutun syntax is the large number of cosubordinate constructions. Complex clauses are often formed by means of clause chaining (Section 10.2), which involves a combination of series of non-final clauses with the final clause. Non-final clauses are dependent, because the verbs in non-final clauses are not inflected for all the grammatical categories that finiteness in Wutun requires and they must have a syntactic relationship with the verb in the final clause. However, they are not arguments or modifiers of another clause so that they must be considered non-embedded. Therefore, I will analyze them as cosubordinate clauses. Nominalized clauses (Section 10.3.) are both dependent and embedded. They are not inflected for all the grammatical categories typical for a fully inflected finite verb and some of them have also acquired nominal morphology. Nominalized clauses are used either as arguments (complement clauses) or modifiers (relative clauses and adverbial clauses) of a superordinate clause. They are therefore analyzed as subordinate clauses.[19] Quotative complement clauses (Section 10.4) are also subordinate clauses that are both dependent and embedded. They are used as arguments of another clause, so they must be considered embedded. Unlike verbs in nominalized clauses, verbs in quotative complement clauses do take full finite morphology, but they can still be considered dependent clauses because they depend on their superordinate clauses for a choice of evidential marking. Finally, Wutun has constructions for a coordination of two independent clauses, which are neither dependent nor embedded (Section 10.5).

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[19] An exception to this are stand-alone nominalized clauses (see Sections 4.11.2 and 7.5.3) that express speaker stance (such as mirativity or annoyance). Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona (2011: 33) note that non-referential nominalizations in Tibeto-Burman languages are frequently reanalyzed as finite clauses that come to express tense, aspect and mood. On the basis of my data, it seems that this development is also taking place in Wutun, where stand-alone nominalized clauses have been reanalyzed as finite main clauses. The nominalizer *-de* in stand-alone nominalized clauses is reinterpreted as the marker of speaker stance, which resembles closely the evidentials participating in egophoric marking both in its meaning and its position in the clause (see Chapter 7).

10.2 Clause chaining and non-final clauses

10.2.1 Introduction

Clause chaining is a distinctive clause combining strategy in Wutun. In clause chains the chain-final clause is preceded by one or more of non-final clauses, all of which are related to single, independent clause. Example (788) illustrates a clause-chain with two clauses, which are bracketed:

(788)   [*ngu*   *lhoma*   *xhen-**ma***]   [*jho-ge-lio*]
            [1SG   student   look for-**COORD**]   [teach-CAUS-PFV]
            'I looked for students and taught them.' (Cairangji)

In (788) the first clause *xhen-ma*, 'look for-COORD' is the non-final verb, while the second clause *jho-ge-lio*, 'teach-CAUS-PFV' is the final verb. The final verb is fully inflected for causative, aspect and evidentiality (the perfective aspect marker *-lio* also indicates ego evidentiality), while the non-final verb takes the non-final suffix *-ma* that expresses sequential relationship between the two predicates. Another example of a clause-chain with three bracketed clauses is provided in (789):

(789)   [*gu*   *quandi*   *quan-**ma***]
            [3SG   clothes   put:on-COORD]

            [*men-li*   *ji-**ma***]
            [door-LOC   squeeze-COORD]

            [*she-li*   *qhi-gu-lio*]
            [home-LOC go-COMPL-PFV]
            'He put on his clothes, squeezed (himself) through the door (and then) went home. (Xiawu Dongzhou)

The first two clauses are non-final and end with non-final verbs, *quan-ma*, 'put:on-COORD' and *ji-ma*, 'squeeze-COORD', while the third clause is final and ends with the final verb *qhi-gu-lio*, 'go-COMPL-PFV'.

     Non-final clauses are dependent; their verbs are not specified for all the grammatical categories that a finite verb in Wutun requires. Therefore, they must always have a syntactic

relationship with a final clause that contains a fully inflected finite verb, and they cannot be used as the only verb in a clause:

(790) *cu   waixi   xai   ha-**ma**
       yesterday evening   snow   come down-**COORD**
       Intended meaning: 'It snowed last night.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Finiteness in Wutun can be considered scalar rather than discrete phenomenon and nonfinite verb forms, such as non-final verbs, represent a various degrees of deviation from the prototype of a fully inflected finite verb. Wutun non-final verbs are never marked for evidentiality, interrogation or imperative mood. However, they can take some finite morphology. They can be marked for aspect (as in 791), and they can be negated (as in 792):

(791) zhawa   se-**gu-di-da**   da
       disciple   die-**COMPL-PROGR-CONSEQ**   then

       adia   ra   da   xhen-la-da
       monk   also   then   walk-INCOMPL-CONSEQ
       'Once his disciple died, then the monk walked on further…'
       (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(792) galamala-jhege   zui   xho
       child-PAUC   most   good

       shu   she   pa-ma
       tree   on   climb-COORD

       bai-wan-da   xho-li
       PROH-do-CONSEQ   (be) good-SEN.INF[20]
       'It is best that children do not climb to trees.' (Tree)

The examples (788)-(792) have illustrated that Wutun non-final clauses are clearly dependent. I have chosen the term non-final clause in accordance to the earlier work on related constructions in the languages of Amdo Sprachbund (see Slater 2003 on Mangghuer and Fried 2010 on Bonan). Alternatively, these verb forms could also be described as converbs if the definition of the converb does not require the notion of subordination to the

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[20] Although this example looks like complementation (in which the first clause is the subject of the adjectival verb '(be) good'), it can however be seen as a manner modification construction where the non-final clause describes the manner of the final clause. Similar construction with the coordinative suffix *-ma* is exemplified in (795).

main clause. It is difficult to classify Wutun non-final clauses as unambiguously embedded clauses that are subordinate to the final clause on the basis of the criteria Haspelmath (1995: 12-13) calls "clause-internal word order" (i.e. the embedded clause causes discontinuity in the constituents of the superordinate clause). The other three criteria for subordination, postposing, pronominal reference and possibility of extraction are not attested in my data either. However, Wutun non-final clauses can be included to the definition of Asian converbs (i.e. non-finite verb forms conflating adverbial and chaining functions) suggested by Bickel (1998). They would also be fulfill the criteria of the expanded notion of converb proposed by Genetti (2005) that does not require the notion of subordination. Genetti's criteria for the definition of converb are:

i)   converbal clauses are neither arguments or attributes

ii)   they are marked by non-finite verbal affixation

iii)   they are morphologically and distributionally dependent

iv)   they may be syndetic and semantically narrow or asyndetic with a range of semantic interpretations

v)   they vary in length with the possibility of chains (Genetti 2005: 81)

All these five criteria apply to Wutun non-final clauses: i) they are neither arguments or attributes of the main clause, ii) they are marked by special non-finite suffixes, iii) they are dependent (e.g. not marked for mood and evidentiality, which are only specified on the main clause), iv) the non-final suffixes -ra, 'COND', -tala, 'TERM' and -de, 'MAN.EXT' are syndetic, while the non-final suffixes -ma, 'COORD' and -da 'CONSEQ' are more asyndetic and have a wide range of semantic interpretations (see Sections 10.2.2.1-10.2.2.4) and v) non-final clauses in Wutun vary in length with the possibility of chaining, as illustrated the examples in this chapter and the appended texts. The criteria i), iv) and v) clearly distinguish Wutun non-final clauses from nominalized clauses (see Section 10.3), that are arguments or attributes of the main clauses, syndetic and semantically narrow in their meaning and do not generally occur in lengthy chains.

Wutun has two types of clause chaining constructions. Coordinative, conditional consequential and terminative non-final suffixes typically express the temporal sequencing of events (Section 10.2.1). They can also indicate the logical relationship (such as causal relation) between the final and non-final predicate. Another type of clause chaining

constructions are the constructions with the manner and extent marker -*de* (Section 10.2.2). In these constructions the function encoded by clause chaining is that of modality, as opposed to sequencing of events which is cross-linguistically more common function of clause chaining. Wutun non-final suffixes are listed in Table 25.

Table 25. *Non-final suffixes*

-*ma*	COORD	Coordinative, coordinates clauses with simultaneous or sequential relationship
-*ra*	COND	Conditional, expresses condition or irrealis predication
-*da*	CONSEQ	Consequential, expresses simultaneous or causal relationship
-*tala*	TERM	Terminative, expresses end point of the main action
-*de*	MAN.EXT	Manner and extent marker, expresses manner or extent relationship

10.2.2 Logical or temporal relationship

Wutun has four non-final suffixes whose primary function is to indicate sequencing of events, or to express logical relationship between the chained predicates. They can also be used together with modal verbs to form clause-chaining constructions which express various types of deontic modality. The coordinative -*ma* indicates simultaneous or sequential events (Section 10.2.2.1). The conditional -*la* ~ -*ra* either expresses condition upon which the predication holds or denotes irrealis predication (Section 10.2.2.2). It is also used to form concessive (Section 10.2.2.2.1) and comparative constructions (Section 10.2.2.2.2). The consequential -*da* marks either sequencing of events, or causal relationship between the two predicates (Section 10.2.2.3). Finally, the terminative -*tala* expresses the end point of an action (Section 10.2.2.4). Non-final verbs are used in verb concatenation (Section 10.2.2.5) constructions, whose primary function is to indicate completion of an event.

10.2.2.1 Coordinative -*ma*

The non-final suffix -*ma* serves to coordinate predications. It often coordinates clauses with simultaneous temporal relationship (as in 793-795):

(793) *she-wu*   *tian*   *yidaze*   *menzai*   *co-ma*
       ten-five   day   inside   like that   stay-**COORD**

       she-li   *co-ma*
       home-LOC   stay-**COORD**

       qe-ma   *xhe-ma*
       eat-**COORD**   drink-**COORD**
       'During the fifteen days (when celebrating Losar), all (the people) stay at home and eat and drink… '(Village Festivals)

(794) *da*   *lek-yai-he*   *hai-de-ra*
       then   six-month-festival   EQU-NMLZ-also

       yidaze   *mio*   *qhi-she-ma*
       all   temple   go-RES.AO-**COORD**

       xen   *quandi*   *da*   *gu-duru*   *quan-she-ma*
       new   clothes   and   that-PL   dress-RES.AO-**COORD**
       'Then, as for the Leru Festival, everybody goes to the temple and dresses in new clothes…' (Village Festivals)

(795) *da*   *awo-jhege*   *pa-ze-ma*
       then   man-PAUC   help-do-**COORD**

       en   *lhamu*   *zai-ma-zai*   *hua-de*
       then   deity   sometimes   paint-NMLZ
       'Then (the women) help men (in thangka painting) and sometimes they also paint thangkas.' (The Wutun Village)

The second predicate in the coordinative construction with simultaneous relationship can be an adjective (as in 796) or a modal verb (as in 797) that expresses the manner of the activity of the first predicate:

(796) *gu*   *sa-ma*   *kuai-li*
       3SG   run-**COORD**   (be) fast-SEN.INF
       'He is running (and he is) fast.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(797) *gu*   *nainai-de*   *quandi*   *ddaiga-li*
       3SG   grandmother-ATTR   clothes   skirt-LOC

       qai-she-ma   *be-hong-li*
       hold-RES.AO-**COORD**   **NEG**-VOL-SEN.INF
       '(S)he was holding grandmother's skirt, without letting go.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Coordinative -*ma* can also be used to coordinate clauses with sequential temporal relationship. Example (798) illustrates a lengthy passage of text in which the coordinative -*ma* connects several temporally sequenced clauses, all of which denote separate events:

(798)   *adia*   *yi-qang*   *kuu-**ma***
                 monk   one-while   cry-**COORD**

                 zhawa-de   *ro-ha*
                 disciple-ATTR   corpse-OD

                 tu-li   *xaima-li*   *mai-she-**ma***
                 earth-LOC   sand-LOC   bury-RES.AO-**COORD**

                 ssanxhan   *yidaze*   *to-gu-ge-**ma***
                 monk's clothes   all   take off-COMPL-CAUS-**COORD**

                 gejhai   *tai-she-**ma***
                 self   fold-RES.AO-**COORD**

                 *bi-she-**ma***
                 carry-RES.AO-**COORD**

                 da   *menzai*   *tek*   *san-ge*
                 then   like that   head   three-REF

                 *ke-gu-**ma***
                 kowtow-COMPL-**COORD**

                 adia   *shang-qhi-gu-lio*
                 monk   rise-go-COMPL-PFV
                 'The monk cried a while, buried the disciple's corpse in earth and sand, took off all the disciple's clothes, folded them himself and put them on his back. Then the monk kowtowed three times and went further up towards Tibet.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Coordinative -*ma* can also be used to express additive contrast. The non-final clause takes the coordinative -*ma*. It is then followed by two juxtaposed clauses, the first one in its negative form and the second one in its positive form:

(799)   *ngu-jhege*   *rek*   *mai-**ma***   *mi-lio*
                 1-PAUC   meat   buy-**COORD**   NEG-finish

                 cai   *ra*   *mai-lio*
                 vegetable   also   buy-PFV
                 'We bought not only meat, but also vegetables.' (Cairangji)

(800)　　　*suan*　　　　*yegai*　　　　　*jjhang-la-**ma***　　　　　*tek*
　　　　　Tibetan　　　language　　　study-INCOMPL-**COORD**　　all

　　　　　mi-li　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*suan-de*　　　　　*loji*
　　　　　EXIST.NEG.SEN.INF　　　　　　　Tibetan-ATTR　　　history

　　　　　jjhang-la-de　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*re*
　　　　　study-INCOMPL-NMLZ　　　　　　　　　　FACT
　　　　　'We study not only the Tibetan language, but also Tibetan history.' (Cairangji)

Coordinative suffix *-ma* is macro-functional so that it also coordinates noun phrases. See Section 4.8 for examples.

10.2.2.2 Conditional *-la ~ -ra*

Conditional *-la ~ -ra* is a versatile non-final verb with various functions. Its main functions are to indicate the condition upon which the predication of the final clause holds, or to express irrealis predication. It is also used in want-complements, topic marking, concessive conditionals (Section 10.2.2.2.1) and in the construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra*, 'in view of, compared to', which expresses the speaker's point of view or the comparative degree of adjectives (Section 10.2.2.2.2). The examples (801) and (802) illustrate the basic conditional function. The conditional *-la ~ -ra* marks the condition upon which the predication expressed by the final clause can or will take place:

(801)　　　*gu*　　　　　*lai-**la***　　　*ngu*　　　　*qhi-zhe*
　　　　　3SG　　　　　come-**COND**　　1SG　　　　go-PROSP
　　　　　'If he comes, I will go.' (Cairangji)

(802)　　　*ke-**la***　　　　　　　*xhui*　　　　*xhe*
　　　　　thirsty-**COND**　　　　　water　　　drink
　　　　　'If you are thirsty, drink (some) water.' (Cairangji)

In (803) and (804) *-la ~ -ra* expresses irrealis predication. It emphasizes the irrealis nature of the events 'finishing the thangka' and 'finishing the dances' that will take place in the future:

(803)   *je-ge*   *wanlan-ma*   *lio-gu-**ra***
           this-REF   do-COORD   get finished-COMPL-**COND**

           ni   *liang-ge*   *yenze*   *a-mende-ge*
           2SG   two-REF   money   INTERR-like that-REF

           yek-li
           EXIST-SEN.INF
           'When you finish this tangka, (sell it and share the money), how much money
           do you two get?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(804)   *han*   *ddaiba-de*   *wa*
           also   village-ATTR   man

           tio-ma   *lio-gu-**ra***
           dance-COORD   finish-COMPL-**COND**

           zai-de   *hua*   *ra*   *mu*   *xhorjja*   *ra*
           other   Wutun   also   TOP   Xhorjja   also

           mu   *gu-duru*   *qhi-ma*   *tio-ma*
           TOP   that-PL   go-COORD   dance-COORD
           'When the men in (our) village (Jiacangma) have finished their dances, we will
           go to the Wutun and Xhorjja villages and dance (with them)…' (Village
           Festivals)

Want-complements in Wutun are also expressed by using the conditional marker *-la ~ -ra*. The verb *ddo*, 'to think, to want' occurs as the final verb in the construction, while the desideratum of a 'want' construction occurs as the non-final verb and takes the conditional marker:

(805)   *ngu-de*   *yenze-de*   *ban-ge*   *hen-gu-**ra***
           1SG-ATTR   money-ATTR   half-REF   divide-COMPL-**COND**

           ddo-la-li
           want-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
           'I want to give away half of my money.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(806)   *ngu*   *sama*   *qe-**la***   *be-ddo-la-li*
           1SG   food   eat-**COND**   NEG-want-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
           'I do not want to eat.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Conditional *-la ~ -ra* is used together with the equative copula verb *hai* to form topic markers (see Section 8.3.3):

(807) *ayi-jhege*   **hai-la**   *zowo*   *da*
       woman-PAUC   **EQU-COND** main thing   then

       tian   *zhun-ma*   *menzai*
       field   cultivate-COORD   like that

       ze-di-de   *gu-li*
       do-PROGR-NMLZ   that-SEN.INF
       'As for the women (in our village), the most important thing (for them) is to work in the field.' (The Wutun Village)

In addition to expressing conditionals, irrealis predication, want-complements and topic marking, *-la ~ -ra* is used to form concessive (Section 10.2.2.2.1) and conditional constructions (Section 10.2.2.2.2).

10.2.2.2.1 Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditionals are formed by a combination of the conditional *-la ~ -ra* and the particle *ra*, 'also, again, and, but, (not) even' (see Section 5.3.4):

(808) *gu*   *lai-**la***   ***ra***   *ngu*   *qhi-zhe*
       3SG   come-**COND** **even**   1SG   go-PROSP
       'Even if he comes, I will go.'(Cairangji)

(809) *wu*   *bai*   *ka-gu-**ra***   ***ra***
       five   hundred   give-COMPL-**COND**   **even**

       han   *dong*   *se-ge-ma*   *zaige*
       still   thousand   four-REF-and   a little

       yek-li=mu
       EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'Even if you give five hundred (yuan as the payment for gold), there is still more than four thousand left, isn't there?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

As illustrated by the examples (808) and (809), concessive conditionals express the meaning 'even if, even though'. By using a concessive conditional, the speaker makes a statement that is unexpected in some way, or contrasts with information in another clause.

10.2.2.2.2 The construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra*, 'in view of, compared to'

Wutun has a special construction *kan-la ~ kan-ra*, which is a compound of the verb *kan* (SM *kàn* 看, 'to look, to watch') and the conditional *-la ~ -ra.* This construction is used to express one's point of view, as in (810)-(812) :

(810)　　*ngu*　　　　**kan-la**
　　　　　1SG　　　　**look-COND**

　　　　　je　　　　*ren*　　　*je*　　　*xawa*
　　　　　this　　　person　　this　　work

　　　　　wanlan-lio-de-ge　　　*nantan*　　*hai-li*
　　　　　do-PFV-NMLZ-REF　　　serious　　EQU-SEN.INF
　　　　　'I think that this person does the job very seriously.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

(811)　　*yangze*　　**kan-la**　　*gu*　　*sangwa*　　*jedo-di-li*
　　　　　appearance　**look-COND**　3SG　secret　　know-PROGR-SEN.INF
　　　　　'(S)he looks like (s)he knows a secret.' (Cairangji)

(812)　　*jhang*　　**kan-la**　　　　　*raitek*　　*xho-li*
　　　　　today　　**look-COND**　　　　sun　　　good-SEN.INF
　　　　　'It seems that the weather will be good today.' (Cairangji)

The *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction indicates that the speaker has either visual or inferential evidence for the denoted event and it therefore functions as an evidentiality strategy (see Section 7.4.1). It is best translated 'it seems, it looks like'.

　　　This construction is also used as a comparative construction in Wutun. The comparative occurs after the nominal word serving as the point of comparison and the adjective occurs as a predicate:

(813)　　*je-ge*　　　*jjhakai*　　*zhungo*　　**kan-la**
　　　　　this-REF　　country　　China　　　**look-COND**

　　　　　xaige　　　*ga-li*
　　　　　very　　　small-SEN.INF
　　　　　'This country is much smaller than China.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(814) B: *dong*   *yi-zek-ma*   *yi*   *bai*   *san-she*
          thousand   one-and   one   hundred   thirty
          '(One person gets) one thousand and one hundred and thirty.'

       C: *bai-li*
           NEG.EQU-SEN.INF

           je-ge   **kan-ra**   *do-li*
           this-REF   **look-COND**   a lot of-SEN.INF

           ni   *liang-ge-ha* *dong*   *wu-ge*
           2SG   two-REF-OD   thousand   five-REF

           yek=mu
           EXIST=INTERR
           'No, it is not like that, it is more than that, you two will get five
           thousand (yuan), isn't it?' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking
           and Car)

(815) *je*   **kan-la**   *yak-la-de*
       this   **look-COND**   beautiful-INCOMPL-ATTR

       ti   *she-li*   *qhi-lai*
       place   on-LOC   go-1.IMP
       'Let's go to a more beautiful place than this one!' (Picnic)

The comparative use of *kan-la ~ kan-ra* is derived from contrastive meaning 'if looking at Y, X is small'. This kind of comparative construction is characteristic for Tibetic languages, in which comparative meanings have often been derived from expressions describing contrast (see Zeisler 2010). Wutun *kan-la ~ kan-ra* construction has an exact structural parallel in several languages of the Amdo Sprachbund, including Amdo Tibetan and the Turkic language Salar (see Sandman and Simon 2016: 112-113).

10.2.2.3 Consequential *-da*

Consequential *-da* represents a grammaticalized form of the particle *da* 'now, then, and, also then' (see Section 5.3.4). This non-final verb is often used together with either progressive aspect marker *-di* or the patient-oriented resultative aspect marker *-ma*. The sequence *-di-da* ('while, at the same time as') expresses a series of simultaneous events, as in (816) and (817):

(816)   *nia-she-**di-da***
        press-RES.AO-**PROGR-CONSEQ**

        gu   *zhawa-de*   *rolang*   *lai-lio*
        that   disciple-ATTR   zombie   come-PRF

        ze-li
        EXEC-SEN.INF
        'As (the monk) was putting (the cord under his pillow), the zombie came.'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(817)   *tin-qhe-**di-da***   *da*
        (be) ill-start-**PROGR-CONSEQ**   then

        zhawa-de   *mi-xho-ma-da*
        disciple-ATTR   NEG-(be) good -RES.PO-CONSEQ
        'Once (he) got ill, then his condition did not get better, and then…'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The sequence *-ma-da* ('after, by the reason of') expresses a series of consecutive events, as in (818) and (819):

(818)   *ngongnen*   *mu*   *jua-gu-**ma-da***
        fasting ritual   TOP   fast-COMPL-**RES.PO-CONSEQ**

        gu-de   *tekre*   *da*
        that-ATTR   tomorrow   then

        xhe-de-ge   *ma-ge*   *hai-li*   *sho-ra*   *da*
        drink-NMLZ-REF   what-REF   EQU-SEN.INF say-COND   then

        jjashok   *mu*   *gun-ma*   *xhe-di-de*
        jjashok   TOP   cook-COORD drink-PROGR-NMLZ
        'For example, during the fasting ritual, (no), when the fasting ritual is finished, what the people drink after that, they make some *jjashok* and drink it.'
        (Traditional Food)

(819) *ggolo*   *huan-gu-**ma-da***   *ngu-jhege*
       wheel   change-COMPL-**RES.PO-CONSEQ**   1-PAUC

       ngu-jhege-de   *soso*   *qe-de*   *gu*
       1-PAUC-ATTR   grandmother   eat-ATTR   that

       ti   *she-li*   *do*
       place   on-LOC   arrive
       'After (we) had replaced the wheel, we arrived to the place where grandmother
       was going to eat.' **(**Blind Grandmother)

The consecutive events connected by *-da* may have causal relationship. In (820) and
(821) non-final clauses marked by *-da* express pre-existing condition or cause for the
predications of final clauses to happen:

(820) *ya*   *da*   *kek*   *be-tin-la-**da***
       INTJ   then   mouth   NEG-listen-INCOMPL-**CONSEQ**

       nia   *ra*   *yen-she*   *sho-ma*
       2SG.OBL   also   take along-RES.AO   QUOT-RES
       'Well, since (you) do not listen to the advice, then (I) will take you with me,
       (the monk) said, and then… (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(821) *da*   *ha*   *da*   *ma*   *liang-ge*
       then   father   and   mother   two-REF

       du-de   *gaiqa*   *sho-ma*   *qhi-li*
       alone-ATTR   language   speak-COORD   start-SEN.INF

       hua   *zzhamu*   *yi-ge~yi-ge*
       speech   this kind of   one-REF~one-REF

       *hui-she-ma-**da***
       can-RES.AO-RES.PO-**CONSEQ**

       jhang menzai   *sho-di-de*   *hua*   *ra*
       nowadays   say-PROGR-ATTR   speech   also

       menzai   *bian-gu-lio-de*
       like that   change-COMPL-PFV-NMLZ
       'Then the father and the mother (of the families who were the ancestors of the
       Wutun people) came to speak their own mother tongues. They learned each
       other's languages so that the language spoken today changed like this…' (The
       Wutun Village)

Consequential non-final verb -*da* can be used with modal verbs expressing ability or permission. When used with modal verbs, it expresses the relationship between the activity and its expected consequences that will take place in the future:

(822) *en*   *adia*   *ni*   *qhi-**da***   *kek-li*
      INTJ   monk   2SG   go-**CONSEQ**   be able-SEN.INF
      'Ah, monk, you will be able to go (to Lhasa) (lit. You going, it will be possible).' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Both the coordinative non-final verb -*ma* (Section 10.2.2.1) and the consequential non-final verb -*da* can express series of temporally organized events, but only consequential -*da* can co-occur with the progressive aspect marker -*di* and the patient-oriented resultative aspect marker -*ma*, while coordinative -*ma* does not co-occur with these aspect markers. When expressing simultaneous relationship, consequential -*da* denotes series of separate events. The non-final clauses marked by -*da* do not share their arguments with the final clause and their status is therefore close to independent juxtaposed clauses. The coordinative -*ma*, on the other hand, frequently indicates phases of a single macro-event. In this function, the coordinative non-final clauses share their arguments with the final clause. In addition, the ability to express causal relationship between consecutive events distinguishes consequential -*da* from coordinative -*ma*, which typically expresses series of temporally organized events without any reference to causal relationship between them.

10.2.2.4 Terminative -*tala*

In addition to commonly used coordinative, conditional and consequential non-final verbs, Wutun has a less commonly used terminative non-final verb -*tala*. It expresses the end point of the main action indicated by the final verb. In the final verb *wanlan*, 'to do' indicates the main action, while the non-final verb *do*, 'to arrive' marked by the terminative -*tala* indicates its end point:

(823) *gu*   *menzo*   *do-**tala***   *wanlan-dio-yek*
      3SG   tomorrow   arrive-**TERM** do-must-EGO
      'S/he must work until tomorrow.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Terminative -*tala* can also indicate action that is expected to be completed in the future (as in 824):

(824)   *naba*   *se-**tala***   *yek-li*
        patient   die-**TERM**   EXIST-SEN.INF
        'The patient is going to die.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

Sometimes terminative -*tala* expresses the meaning 'in order to':

(825)   *dangma*   *zang*   *do-**tala***   *san-ge*
        a long time ago   Tibet   arrive-**TERM** three-REF

        yai-ma   *shewu*   *tian*   *yo-de*
        month-COORD   fifteen   day   NEC-NMLZ

        re
        FACT
        'In those days, you needed three months and fifteen days to go to Tibet.'
        (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

This non-final verb has been borrowed from Bonan, which has an identical terminative non-final verb (Wu 2003: 338). The terminative non-final verb is of common Mongolic origin and it was present already in Middle Mongol (Rybatzki 2003: 77-78). Although grammatical borrowings from Bonan to Wutun are rare, they nevertheless do exist and the terminative -*tala* is one of the most obvious examples.

10.2.2.5   Verb concatenation

Verb concatenation refers to strings of non-final verbs that are composed of a full lexical verb and a semantically bleached verb. The first non-final verb retains its basic meaning, while the second verb undergoes semantic bleaching and it goes on to express a more abstract grammatical meaning, although it has independent main verb functions in other contexts. I will use the term verb concatenation in the spirit of Matisoff (2003: 218) and Hargreaves (2003: 380) who describe similar constructions in Tibeto-Burman languages Lahu and Kathmandu Newar.

In Wutun the concatenated verbs are marked by the coordinative non-final verb *-ma*. The most common semantically bleached verb used in verb concatenation is *lai*, 'to come'. When used in verb concatenation, it has lost its meaning as a motion verb and it rather indicates that the action was carried out until completion:

(826) *caixi*   *waixi*   *lai-ra*
       tonight   night   come-COND

       men-ge   *so*   *she-la*   *xan*   *yi-ge*
       door-REF   lock   on-ABL   cord   one-REF

       qe-ma   **lai-ma**
       tie-COORD   **come-COORD**

       xan   *yi-ge*   **dai-ma**   **lai-ma**
       cord   one-REF   **take-COORD**   **come-COORD**

       ni   *ni-de*   *jentek-de-li*   *hhong-she*
       2SG   2SG-ATTR   pillow-ATTR-LOC   put-RES.AO
       'Today evening when night comes, tie a cord to the lock of your door, and then take the other end of it, and put it inside your pillow.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(827) *ni*   *zang*   ***jja-la-ma***
       2SG   Tibet   **visit-INCOMPL-COORD**

       lai-ma   *ni*   *ma-ge-de*   *hanyan*
       come-COORD   2SG   what-REF-ATTR   benefit

       yek-zhe
       EXIST-PROSP
       'You have come to Tibet, but what does it benefit (if you do not even listen to the lama's advice)?' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Verb concatenation constructions resemble verb-complement constructions (see Section 4.8) in meaning. Both complement verbs and concatenated verbs add aspectual meaning of completion to the main verb. However, in verb concatenation the semantically bleached verb retains its syntactic independence and must be connected with the main verb by a non-final suffix, while in the verb-complement construction the complement verb has become a suffix-like element and it is not possible to place any grammatical markers in between the main verb and the complement verb. Verb concatenation may represent an intermediate stage of grammaticalization between the two independent verbs and a verb-complement construction.

Altenatively, it could have started as a chaining structure as opposed to a serializing concatenation of two verb stems present in verb-complement constructions.

10.2.3 Modal relationship: manner and extent marker *-de*

Clauses with the manner and extent marker *-de* (SM *de* 得) are clause chaining constructions in which the relationship between the final clause and the non-final clause is that of modality. The non-final predicate takes the manner and extent marker *-de*, while the final predicate is inflected for full finite morphology. The marker *-de* has cognates in other varieties of Mandarin Chinese. As the name of the marker indicates, there are two types of modal meanings that can be inferred from clause chaining constructions with *-de*. The first one is that of *manner*. In these constructions, the final predicate is an adjective. The adjective is interpreted as a description of the manner in which the event described by the non-final clause occurs (as in 828 and 829):

(828)   *gu*   *xai-**de***   *xaige*   *xho-li*
          3SG   write-**MAN.EXT**   very   good-SEN.INF
          'S/he writes very well.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(829)   *gu*   *huaiqa*   *nian-ra*   *nian-**de***
          3SG   book   read-COND   read-**MAN.EXT**

          kuai-li   *ya*
          fast-SEN.INF   EMPH
          'As for his/her reading, s/he reads very fast.' (Kaurila 2011: 38)

The adjective can also express the speaker's evaluation of the situation described by the non-final clause (as in 830 and 831):

(830)   *lu*   *a-ge*   *she-la*   *qhi-**de***
          road   which   on-ABL   go-**MAN.EXT**

          zhong-li
          (be) right-SEN.INF
          '…which road is right (for you) to go.' (Bike)

(831) *gu*   *lai-**de***   *be-zhong-li*
       3SG   come-**MAN.EXT**   NEG-(be) right-SEN.INF
       'It is not all right that s/he comes.' (Myrtle Cairangji)

Another type of relationship between the final clause and non-final clause expressed by *-de* is that of *extent*. In these constructions, the final predicate is a verb phrase or an entire clause. The action expressed by the first clause is done to such an extent that the result is the state expressed by the final clause:

(832) *gu*   *ni*   *ddo-di-**de***   *gu-dera*
       3SG   2SG   think-PROGR-**MAN.EXT**   DIST-PL

       qe-di   *mi-li*
       eat-PROGR   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
       'S/he thinks about you so much that it is impossible for him/her to eat any of those (dishes).' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

As illustrated by the examples (828)-(832), clauses with the manner and extent marker *-de* always express the speaker's evaluation or attitude towards the denoted event. This distinguishes *-de* from the non-final verbs discussed in Section 10.2.2 that usually express temporal sequencing of events.

The manner and extent marker *-de* is homonymous with the nominalizer *-de*; however, the two elements are distinct both synchronically and diachronically. From the synchronic perspective, the nominalizer *-de* is used in subordinate clauses that are either arguments (complement clauses) or modifiers (relative clauses and adverbial clauses). The manner and extent marker *-de*, on the other hand, is used in cosubordinate clauses. The examples with manner and extent marker *-de* discussed in this section are neither arguments nor modifiers; the final and non-final clauses are added together in sequence like coordinate clauses. However, non-final clauses with manner and extent marker *-de* are dependent. They cannot occur independently and they share their evidentiality value with the final clause. Therefore, they are best analyzed as cosubordinate constructions along with coordinative, conditional, consequential and terminative non-final verbs discussed in Section 10.2.2. The two markers also have different etymology. The nominalizer *-de* has its origins in Early Modern Chinese light noun *di*, 'bottom' (Shi and Li 2001: 306), while the manner and extent marker *-de* is originally a modal verb (Shi and Li 2001: 67, 137).

10.3 Nominalization

Like many other Sino-Tibetan languages, Wutun makes extensive use of nominalizations in clause combining. Wutun has only one versatile nominalizer -*de* (SM -*de* 的), which is used in both lexical and clausal nominalization (see Section 4.11). While Wutun non-final verbs discussed in 10.2 are cosubordinate (they are dependent on the scope of operators in the main clause but they are not arguments or modifiers of another clause), nominalized clauses can be considered subordinate clauses. Nominalized clauses are dependent, because they are not inflected for all the grammatical categories that are required in the main clause, and therefore they must have a syntactic relationship with the superordinate clause so that the values for the unspecified grammatical categories can be specified. They frequently take aspect marking, but they do not take causative, evidential or mood marking. Nominalized clauses are also embedded, because they function as arguments or modifiers of another clause[21]. Following Longacre's (2007: 374) classification of subordinate clauses, I have divided Wutun embedded nominalized clauses into three types. Nominal complement clauses (Section 10.3.1) function as arguments of the predicate in the main clause. Relative clauses (Section 10.3.2) serve to modify noun phrases. Adverbial subordinate clauses (Section 10.3.3) are modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. Nominal complement clauses are referential, because they always refer to an entity. Relative clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses, on the other hand, are non-referential, because they restrict the reference of a noun phrase or background the main clause, and they do no refer to an entity. This difference is expressed morphologically so that nominal complement clauses take the referential marker -*ge*, while relative clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses never take the referential marker -*ge*.

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[21] In addition to embedded nominalized clauses that are used in clause combining, Wutun also allows non-embedded nominalized clauses. Non-embedded nominalized clauses express speaker stance, such as mirativity (see Sections 4.11.2 and 7.4.3).

10.3.1 Nominal complement clauses

Nominal complement clauses are nominalized clauses that function as noun phrases. They serve as Agent or Patient arguments of the verb in their matrix clauses. Example (833) illustrates a nominal complement clause serving as a Patient argument:

(833) [*gu*   *je-ge*   *dianyin*   *kan-di-de-ge*]
       [3SG   this-REF   movie   watch-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF]**

       ngu   *ra*   *jedo-gu-lio*
       1SG   also   know-COMPL-PFV
       'I knew that he will watch this movie. (lit. this movie-watching of his, I knew).
       (Cairangji)

There are two formal characteristics that nominal complement clauses share. First, nominal complement clauses occur with the marked argument structure. While the basic, unmarked word order in Wutun is APV, nominal complement clauses serving as Patient arguments are always topicalized and they occur in a clause-initial position so that the word order becomes PAV (as in 833). It is common in Asian languages that nominalizations are formed with the help of marked argument structure; this phenomenon is called *focusing strategy* by Yap, Grunow-Hårsta and Wrona (2011: 22).

When nominal complement clauses serve as Agent arguments, they follow the APV word order as any other Agents:

(834) *ni*   *lhasa*   *ju*   *toba*
       2SG   Lhasa   lord:Jobo   forehead

       dek-la-lio-de-ge
       touch-INCOMPL-PFV-**NMLZ-REF**

       hanyan   *yek-ge-zhe*   *sho-la*
       benefit   EXIST-CAUS-PROSP   say-SEN.INF.EMPH
       'When you have bowed your head to Lord Jobo in Lhasa, that gives you the benefit, the lama said.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

The second feature that nominal complement clauses share is that they are marked as noun phrases by the referential marker -*ge*. This is because nominal complement clauses always refer to events construed as tangible. They are one of the most important types of referential nominalizations in Wutun (see Sections 3.5 and 4.11.2). Referentiality

distinguishes nominal complement clauses from other types of clausal nominalizations (relative clauses, adverbial subordinate clauses and non-embedded nominalized clauses) that do not refer to any tangible entity or event and therefore are never marked by the referential marker -*ge*.

Nominal complement clauses most often occur with a rather restricted class of complement-taking predicates. The most common types of predicates that take nominal complement clauses are verbs of knowledge (such as *jedo*, 'to know'), verbs of perception (such as *jhan*, 'to see') and propositional attitude verbs (such as *xang*, to seem, to look like):

(835) *gu*   *qhi-di-**de-ge***
    3SG   go-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF**

    ngu *sawo* *jedo-gu-lio*
    1SG   clearly know-COMPL-PFV
    'I knew that s/he went away.' (Cairangji)

(836) *jashe* *qe-di-**de-ge***
    PN   eat-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF**

    ngu   *ra*   *jhan-lio*
    1SG   also   see-PFV
    'I saw that Jashe was eating.' (Cairangji)

(837) *gu*   *goba* *ddang-di-**de-ge*** *xang-li*
    3SG   way of think-PROGR-**NMLZ-REF** seem-SEN.INF
    'He looks like he is thinking about a solution.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

To sum up, nominal complement clauses are referential nominalized clauses that serve as Agent or Patient arguments of their matrix clauses. They are distinguished by the marked, clause-initial word order and the referential marker -*ge*. Nominal complements are most often used with verbs expressing knowledge, perception or the speaker's attitude.

10.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are embedded nominalized clauses that function as modifiers of the head noun in a noun phrase. Their key function is to restrict the reference of the head noun:

(838) *gu-liangge*   *jhang menzai*   *con-je-na*
       therefore   nowadays   as for this

       [*je-de*   *hua*   *je-ge-ha*
       [this-ATTR   speech   this-REF-OD

       xijjek   *ze-di-de*]   *ren*   *ra*
       research   do-PROGR-**ATTR**]   person   also

       zaige   *do-li*
       some   (be) many-SEN.INF
       'Therefore, nowadays, this language, as for it, there are quite many people
       doing research on it (lit. many research-doing people).' (The Wutun Village)

In (838) the relative clause constrains the referent of the noun *ren*, 'people' to the people
doing research on the Wutun language. As in Standard Mandarin, in Wutun relative clauses
always appear before the head noun.

    In (839) the Agent of the clause has been relativized. Patients can be relativized as well,
as shown in :

(839) *jhang menzai*   *sho-di-de*   *hua*   *ra*
       nowadays   say-PROGR-**ATTR**   speech   also

       menzai   *bian-gu-lio-de*
       like that   change-COMPL-PFV-NMLZ
       'The language spoken today changed like this…' (The Wutun Village)

    In addition to core arguments, Wutun also allows relativization of non-core arguments
that have instrumental-like meaning, as exemplified in (840) and (841):

(840) *nia*   *zang*   *jja-la-de*   *ghangga*
       1SG.OBL   Tibet   visit-INCOMPL-**ATTR**   destiny

       mi-li
       EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
       'It is not your destiny to go to Tibet.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(841) *nga-ha*   *huaiqa*   *mai-de*   *yenze*   *yek*
       1SG.OBL-OD   book   buy-**ATTR**   money   EXIST
       'I have money for buying books.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (840) the relative clause expresses the instrumental-like meaning 'destiny that allows you to go to Tibet', while in (841) the relative clause expresses the meaning 'money that allows you to buy books.'

Even locative and temporal phrases can be relativized, as in (842) and (843):

(842)   *lai-gu-lio-**de***   *ti*   *she*   *ni*
          come-COMPL-PFV-**ATTR**   place   on   2SG

          hai   *jedo-li=a*   *sho-ma*
          still   know-SEN.INF=INTERR   QUOT-RES
          'Do you still know the place where (we) have been (before)? (The father) asked.' (Picnic)

(843)   *waixi*   *do-**de***   *kuli*
          evening   arrive-**ATTR**   time

          da   *suanzzhai*   *men-de-ge*   *da*
          then   spirit   like that-REF   then
          'When the evening came, there appeared something like a spirit…' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

Temporal expressions that are formally relative clauses (as in 843) are used as temporal adverbial clauses in backgrounding the main clause (see Section 10.3.3.2). They often express the meaning 'while, at the same time.'

Finally, Wutun allows relativization of possessors, as in (844):

(844)   *gek*   *san-ge*   *yek-**de***   *gu~gu*   *ren*
          dog   three-REF   EXIST-**ATTR**   that~that   person

          ra   *jhan-ma-li*
          also   see-RES-SEN.INF
          'I have also seen that person with three dogs.' (Cairangji)

Relative clauses are also used as heads in anaphoric contexts:

(845)   *da*   *ma*   *sho-**de***   *mi-yek*
          now   something   say-**ATTR**   EXIST.NEG-EGO
          'I don't have anything to say now.' (Cairangji)

A relative clause is often the only modifier of its head noun, but sometimes it is used together with other modifiers. In (846) the head noun *ren-ge*, 'person' is modified by both the relative clause and the post-nominal adjective attribute:

(846) *ni*   *taima*   *qhi-**de***   *ren-ge*
       2SG   bike   ride-**ATTR**   person-REF

       xho~xho-de-ge   *dang-do*
       good~good-NMLZ-REF   act-get done

       en   *zowo*   *da*   *daijhang*   *da*
       HES   main thing   then   safety   then

       zowo   *hai-li*
       main thing   EQU-SEN.INF
       'If you want to be a good biker (lit. a biking person, a good one), well, the most important thing, the most important thing then is the safety.' (Bike)

Relative clauses in Wutun are a sub-category of attributive phrases together with genitive attributes and adjective attributes. Like nominalizers in many other Sino-Tibetan languages, the nominalizer *-de* in Wutun extends beyond its core function and it goes on to mark various attributes modifying the head noun, including genitives (see Section 3.7).

10.3.3 Adverbial subordinate clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses are embedded nominalized clauses that modify verbs and propositions. Their key function is framing and backgrounding the main clause. There are two types of adverbial subordinate clauses in Wutun. First, there is the causal construction, which is composed of the nominalizer *-de* and the sociative case marker *-liangge* (Section 10.3.3.1). The second type of adverbial subordinate clauses are temporal adverbial clauses, which are formally relative clauses with postpositions as their heads (Section 10.3.3.2).

10.3.3.1 Causal construction *-de liangge*

Causal subordination in Wutun is expressed by a combination of a nominalized verb and the sociative case marker *-liangge* based on the Mandarin Chinese numeral *liǎng* (两), 'two' and

the general classifier *ge* (个) (see Section 3.3.4). The subordinate clause precedes the main clause it modifies:

(847) *dak*   *jhan-lio-**de-liangge***   *ren*
       tiger   see-PFV-**NMLZ-SOC**   person

       yidaze   *haipa-gu-lio*   *ze-li*
       all   be frightened-COMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'Because of /as soon as seeing the tiger, all the people were frightened.'
       (Xiawu Dongzhou)

In (847), the adverbial subordinate clause could be interpreted as expressing the meaning 'because of' or 'as soon as'. Another example is provided in (848):

(848) *da*   *yidaze*   *suan-de*   *jhosso*
       then   all   Tibetan-ATTR   education

       *hai-**de-liangge***   *suan*   *yegai*   *zowo*   *ze-ma*
       EQU-**NMLZ-SOC**   Tibetan   language   main.thing do-COORD

       jjhang-la-ma
       study-INCOMPL-COORD
       'Then, because of the custom of all (the schoolchildren in our village) getting a Tibetan education, they take Tibetan as the main language of study…' (The Wutun Village)

Wutun causal construction most probably represents areal interference from Amdo Tibetan, since Tibetic languages use a combination of a nominalized verb and the ergative-instrumental case marker to express causal relation. The actual sociative case marker *-liangge* is a loan calque from Bonan, which has a functionally quite similar case marker also based on the numeral 'two'(see Section 3.3.4).

10.3.3.2 Temporal adverbial clauses

In addition to adverbial subordinate clauses expressing causal relation, Wutun has a number of adverbial subordinate clauses that express temporal relation between the subordinate clause and the main clause. Examples (849)-(854) illustrate temporal adverbial clauses:

(849) *quan*   *qhi-**de***   ***shai***   *gu*   *lu*   *she*
       travel   go-**ATTR**   **time**   3SG   road   on

       jhan-de-dera   *hua-she-lio*   *ze-li*
       see-NMLZ-PL   draw-RES.AO-PFV   SEN.INF
       'When travelling, s/he drew down what s/he saw on the way.' (Xiawu
       Dongzhou)

(850) *ngu*   *qhi-**de***   ***shaida*** *ngu-de*   *tuze*
       1SG   go-**ATTR**   **time**   1SG-ATTR   stomach

       xaige   *e-di-li*
       very   hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'Whenever I go out I am always hungry.' (Cairangji)

(851) *xo wang*   *san*   *nian-**de***   ***ggo***   *jjhayek*
       PN   three   year-**ATTR**   **time**   Chinese

       jjhang-la-lio   *ze-li*
       study-INCOMPL-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
       'Xo Wang has studied Chinese language for three years.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

(852) *da*   *jjhawo*   *cherajan-**de***   ***ggai***   *gu~gu-li*
       then   king   PN-**ATTR**   **time**   that-LOC

       da   *menzai*   *mokshong*   *ze-ma*
       then   like that   border guard   do-COORD
       'Then, at the king Cherajan's time, (our ancestors) served as border guards…'
       (The Wutun Village)

(853) *tekre*   *qhe-lai-**de***   ***kuli***
       next day   get:up-come-**ATTR**   **time**

       mi-li=a
       EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF=INTERR
       'When (the monk) got up next day, there was no (zombie).' (ELDP, corpus
       WT09_4)

(854) *gu*   *zho*   *sho-**de***   ***jjhorai***   *xhen-di-li*
       3SG   music   say-**ATTR**   **while**   walk-PROGR-SEN.INF
       'S/he is walking while singing.' (Xiawu Dongzhou)

As illustrated by the examples (849)-(854), temporal adverbial clauses are formally relative
clauses with postpositions as their heads (see Section 5.1 for discussion of postpositions). The

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most commonly used postpositional expressions used in temporal adverbial clauses are *-de shai*, '(at the time) when', *-de shaida*, '(at the time) when', *-de ggai*, '(at the time) when', *-de kuli*, '(at the time) when', *-de ggo*, 'during' and *-de jjhorai*, 'while'. They all express simultaneous temporal relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause.

10.4 Quotative complement clauses of verba dicendi

Quotative complements of speech verbs, such as *sho* (SM *shuō* 说), 'to say, to speak' and *wen* (SM *wén* 问), 'to ask' are embedded clauses that function as arguments of the matrix clause. The example (855) illustrates a quotative complement clause:

(855)   *ngu*   *laizha*   *do-li*   **sho-ma-yek**
          1SG   homework   much-SEN.INF   **say-RES.PO-EGO**
          'I said that we have too much homework (to do).'
          (Conversation 1_School)

Verbs of speaking can either precede or follow the quotation, and bear various morphological markings. When the verb of speaking follows the quotation, it takes the full finite morphology and the quotation appears as a Patient argument in the clause. Quotative complement clauses resemble nominal complement clauses (see Section 10.3.3.1) in a way that they are embedded into the argument structure of the matrix clause. They are also dependent clauses, but their nature of dependence is different from nominal complement clauses. Nominal complement clauses are not inflected for all the grammatical categories that a finite verb in Wutun requires (they lack evidential and mood marking) and they are marked as referential like nouns. Quotative complement clauses, on the other hand, have full finite verbal morphology. However, as illustrated later in this section, they are dependent on the matrix clause for the determination of whether ego or non-ego evidential is used.

Further examples of quotative complement clauses preceding the matrix verb are given in (856) and (857):

(856)   *gu-de*   *aba*   *mu*
         3SG-ATTR   father   TOP

         xaitang-li   *dianno*   *yek*   *da*   *xho-li*
         school-LOC   computer   EXIST   then   good-SEN.INF

         sho-ma-li
         say-RES.PO-SEN.INF
         'As for her father, he said that there should be a computer/ some computers at school.' (Conversation 1_School)

(857)   *gu*   *ngu-jhege-de*   *ddai*   *she*
         3SG   1-PAUC-ATTR   village   on

         xaitang-ge   *yek*   *xho-li*   ***sho-ma-li***
         school-REF   EXIST   good-SEN.INF   **say-RES.PO-SEN.INF**
         'She said that there should be a school in our (own) village.' (Conversation 1_School)

In casual speech the quotative verb can sometimes be omitted from the quotative construction:

(858)   A: *loshe*   *ma-ge*   *sho-li*
                teacher   what-REF   say-SEN.INF
                'What did the teacher say?'

         B: *loshe*   *huaco*   *xho-li*
                teacher   PN   good-SEN.INF
                'Teacher (said that) Huaco had good (suggestions).'
                (Conversation 1_School)

The content of a quotative complement clause can be either direct or indirect quotation. In sentences where the quotative complement precedes the matrix verb, it is often not possible to make a distinction between direct and indirect quotation on the basis of syntactic criteria. This is illustrated by the example (859), which has two possible translations:

(859)   *loshe*   *xho-li*   ***sho-li***
         teacher   good-SEN.INF   **say-SEN.INF**
         'Teacher said that it is (a) good (idea).'
         'Teacher said: It is (a) good (idea).' (Conversation 1_School)

However, there are at least two types of quotative constructions that unambiguously mark the quotation as direct. First, direct quotations can be indicated by a nominalized speech verb that precedes the quotation. Consider:

(860) *en*   *aba*   *nga*   **sho-de**   *ni*   *kan*
      HES   father   1SG.OBL   **say-NMLZ**   2SG   look
      'The father said to me: Look!' (Picnic)

(861) *daijhe-ge*   *ngan-di-da*   *da*   *adia*
      knife-REF   press-PROGR-CONSEQ   then   monk

      sho-de   *da*   *zhawa-ha*   *ni*   *bai-qhi*
      say-NMLZ   then   disciple-OD   2SG   PROH-go
      'As (the lama) was pressing the knife, the monk said: Disciple, you should not go.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

When the speech verb precedes the quotation, it is nominalized and there is no finite verb in the sentence, except in the quoted material. Wutun speech verbs therefore have a unique morphosyntactic behavior in reported speech constructions, and they may appear in nominalized forms even as the only verb in the matrix clause, which is not possible for other verbs in Wutun.

Second, quotations can be marked as direct by the quotative marker *sho-ma*, based on the verb *sho*, 'to say, to speak' and the patient-oriented resultative aspect marker *-ma*:

(862) *ngu*   **wen-de**
      1SG   **ask-NMLZ**

      aba   *a-li*   *qhi-zhe*   **sho-ma**
      father   where   go-PROSP   **QUOT-RES**

      menzai   *wen-lio*   *ze-li*
      like that   ask-PFV   EXEC-SEN.INF
      'Then I asked: Father, where shall we go?' (Picnic)

(863) *gek*   *san-ge*   *yek-de*   *gu~gu*   *ren*
       dog   three-REF   EXIST-ATTR   that~that   person

       ra   *jhan-ma-li*   **sho-ma**
       also   see-RES-SEN.INF   **QUOT-RES**

       jashe   **sho-li**
       PN   **say-SEN.INF**
       'Jashe_i said that he_j also saw that person with three dogs.' (Cairangji)

(864) *en*   *gu*   *ti*   *she*   *da*   *xaige*
       EXCL   that   place   on   then   very

       yak-la-li
       beautiful-INCOMPL-SEN.INF

       da   *mende*   *ti*   *she*
       then   like that   place   on

       so-la~la-de-ge
       comfortable-INCOMPL~INCOMPL-ATTR-REF

       da   *ngu-jhege*   *daxi*   *shongwu*   *xhe-lai*
       now   1-PAUC   finally   lunch   drink-1.IMP

       sho-ma
       QUOT-RES
       'Eh, that place is very beautiful and comfortable, now we can finally have
       lunch, the father said.' (Picnic)

(865) *qhichai*   *hen-di-**yek***   **sho-ma**
       car   share-PROGR-**EGO**   **QUOT-RES**
       '(He)_i said that he_i wants to share the car.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking
       and Car)

The quotative marker *sho-ma* marks the direct quotation as finished. It can be used either
together with a quotative matrix clause containing a speech verb (as in 862 and 863) or as the
only marker of quotation in the sentence (as in 864 and 865). All the Wutun speech verb
complements, including the quotative particle *sho-ma* and the reported evidential auxiliary
sho are based on the verb *sho*, 'to say, to speak' (SM *shuō* 说) and the old and new functions
co-exist in Wutun[1]

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[1] I will gloss *sho* as 'say' when it occurs as a full lexical verb and REP, 'reported' when it occurs as a reported
auxiliary. Wutun also has a quotative particle *sho-ma* based on the verb *sho*,'to speak' and the patient-oriented

It was already mentioned in the beginning of this section that quotative complement clauses are dependent on their matrix clauses, even though they have full finite morphology. Their dependence on the matrix clause concerns the determination of egophoric marking. Like in the case of reported evidentiality (see Section 7.1.2), the ego evidential in the quotation indicates that the person who is quoted and the person who originally reported the information are co-referential, while the sensory-inferential evidential indicates that they are not co-referential. Consider:

(866) *da*   *qhichai*   *hen-de*   *yo-yek*   *sho-di-li*
       now   car   share-NMLZ   want-**EGO**   say-PROGR-SEN.INF
       '(He)ᵢ says that (he)ᵢ wants to share the car.' (Conversation 2_Thangkas, Smoking and Car)

(867) *gek*   *san-ge*   *yek-de*   *gu~gu*   *ren*
       dog   three-REF   EXIST-ATTR   that~that   person

       ra   *jhan-ma-li*   ***sho-ma***
       also   see-RES-SEN.INF   **QUOT-RES**

       jashe   ***sho-li***
       PN   **say-SEN.INF**
       'Jasheᵢ said that heⱼ also saw that person with three dogs.' (Cairangji)

In (866) the person in the quotation is co-referential with the person of the matrix clause. Wutun is a pro-drop language and it is extremely common to leave the personal pronouns overtly unexpressed, but the use of ego evidential *-yek* in the quotation indicates that the person in the quotation is identical with that of the matrix clause. In (867), on the other hand, the person in the quotation and the matrix clause are not co-referential and this is indicated by the sensory-inferential evidential *-li*.

It is also possible to use a reported speech construction and the reported evidential in the same clause. Third-hand information in Wutun is generally expressed in this way. Example (868) illustrates the clause with both reported speech construction and the reported evidential:

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resultative aspect marker *-ma*. This particle only marks direct quotes, so I will gloss it as QUOT-RES, 'quotative resultative'.

(868) *gu-jhege*   *qhi-zhe*   ***sho-di-li***   ***sho-li***
       3-PAUC   go-PROSP   **say-PROGR-SEN.INF**   **REP-SEN.INF**
       'They say that they will go, somebody told this to me (I have heard from a third
       party what they said).' (Cairangji)

In (868) the first verb *sho* is used as a lexical verb 'to speak' and it expresses a quotative
complement clause, while the second verb *sho* functions as a reported auxiliary that marks
the quoted clause as information heard from a third party.

   We have seen in this section that quotative complement clauses are embedded clauses
that function as arguments of their matrix clauses. They are dependent on their matrix clauses
for the determination of egophoric marking, but they take full finite morphology, which
distinguishes them from other types of dependent clauses (see Section 10.3 on
nominalization). The content of the quotative complement clause can be either direct or
indirect quote. In sentences where the quotation precedes the matrix clause it is not possible
to determine whether the content of the quotation is direct or indirect on the basis of syntactic
criteria. However, direct quotes can be explicitly expressed by either a nominalized speech
verb preceding the quotation or by the quotative marker *sho-ma* following the quotation.

10.5 Coordination of independent clauses

Coordination of two independent clauses, i.e. clauses with fully inflected finite verb is not
common in Wutun. The preferred clause combining strategies are nominalization and clause
chaining by means of non-final verbs. Therefore, most of the complex clauses in Wutun
involve either subordinate or cosubordinate constructions. However, my data contains a few
instances of coordinate constructions with two independent clauses. Independent clauses in
Wutun may be coordinated by means of juxtaposition without any intervening markers
(Section 10.5.1), or by means of the particles *ra*, 'also, again, and, but, (not) even' and *da*,
'now, then, and, also then' (Section 10.5.2).

10.5.1 Juxtaposition

Independent clauses in Wutun may be coordinated by juxtaposition without any intervening markers showing the relationship between two clauses:

(869) *ngu*   *yenze*   *yek*   *ngu*   *huaiqa*   *mai-qhi-lio*
        1SG   money   EXIST   1SG   book   buy-go-PFV
        'I have some money (so) I went to buy books.' (Cairangji)

(870) *awo*   *liang-ge*   *zhan-she-ma-li*
        man   two-REF   stand-RES.AO-RES.PO-SEN.INF

        haibian   *yek-li*
        beach   EXIST-SEN.INF
        'Two men were standing, (they) were on the beach.' (Coconut)

One of the functions of coordinate clauses in Wutun is expressing contrast. In the contrast is expressed by juxtaposing the clause first in its positive form and then in its negative form:

(871) *shongge*   *nga*   *ji-la-li*
        usually   1SG.OBL   (be) happy-INCOMPL-SEN.INF

        jhang   *nga*   *be-ji-la-li*
        today   1SG.OBL   NEG-(be) happy-INCOMPL-SEN.INF
        'I am generally happy (but) today I am not happy.' (Cairangji)

10.5.2 Coordinative function of particles *ra* and *da*

In addition to juxtaposition, the particles *ra*, 'also, again, and, but, (not) even' and *da*, 'now, then, and, also then' (Section 5.3.3.2) are used to coordinate independent clauses in Wutun. In (872) *ra* expresses a contrast between the two independent clauses:

(872) | *da* | *hua* | *je-ge* | *sho-ma* | *qhi-la*
then | language | this-REF | say-COORD | start-COND

da | *zaige* | *xxandang* | *mezzha-la-de-ge*
then | a little | (be) different | (be) different-INCOMPL-NMLZ-REF

hai-li | *sho-li=mu* | **ra**
EQU-SEN.INF | say-SEN.INF=INTERR | **but**

gangdaijhang | *zowo* | *da*
anyway | main thing | then

nga-n-de | *je-ge* | *raigong*
1-COLL-ATTR | this-REF | Rebgong

be-ten-de
NEG-(be) harmonious-ATTR

'Then, to say something about the (Wutun) language, it is somewhat unique, they say, but the most important thing is that our (language) is different from Rebgong (Amdo Tibetan).' (The Wutun Village)

'And'-coordination in Wutun can be expressed by the particle *da*:

(873) | *gubaiderada*
otherwise

nia | *da* | *yi* | *liang* | *waixi-de*
2SG.OBL | then | one | two | night-ATTR

ming | *mun-na* | *mi-li*
life | instead | EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF

da | *je* | *zang* | *yidaze*
and | this | Tibet | all

hai-gu-lio-de | *re*
destroy-COMPL-PFV-NMLZ | FACT

'Otherwise (if you hadn't destroyed the zombie), you would only have one or two more nights to live. And you would have destroyed the whole of Tibet.' (ELDP, corpus WT09_4)

(874) *wu-yai-dang* *go-she-ra*
       five-month-festival spend-RES.AO-COND

       luteng-li *qhi-ma*
       forest-LOC go-COORD

       pikang *da* *gu-duru* *da-ma-da*
       tent and that-PL pitch-RES.PO-CONSEQ

       xaige *sama* *da* *gu-duru*
       very food and that-PL

       xang~xang-de *wanlan-ma-da*
       delicious~delicious-NMLZ make-RES.PO-CONSEQ

       gudaxi *co-ma* *wu* *tian-na* *co-ma-da*
       there stay-COORD five day-DISTR stay-RES.PO-CONSEQ

       menzai *co-di-li=mu*
       like that stay-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR

       da *lek-yai-he* *hai-de* *ra*
       then six-month-festival EQU-NMLZ also

       yidaze *mio* *qhi-she-ma*
       all temple go-RES.AO-COORD
       all (the people) go to the temple,

       xen *quandi* *da* *gu-duru* *quan-she-ma*
       new clothes and that-PL dress-RES.AO-COORD
       'To celebrate the May Festival, (people) go to the forest, they pitch tents and the like, they cook very delicious food, and stay there (in tents), stay (there) for five days, that is how they spend (the May Festival). Then there is the Leru Festival, all (the people) go to the temple and dress in new clothes…' (Village Festivals)

In addition to their clause-combining function, the particles *ra* and *da* also link other units of speech, such as noun phrases and postpositional phrases. Examples of clause combining by means of particles is not very common in my data; coordination of events or states is most often expressed through a series of non-final clause followed by one final clause with full finite morphology (Section 10.2).

Appendix: Three Wutun texts

Text 1: The Wutun Village (extract)
by Xiawu Dongzhou, male, born in Wutun in 1966

1)   *oya*   *da*   *jidang-de*
            INTJ   then   in general-ATTR

            nga-n-de   *je-ge*   *sanggaixong*   *sho-de*
            1-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   Wutun   say-ATTR

            je-ge   *en*   *da*   *ddaiba*   *hai-ra*
            this-REF   as for   then   village   EQU-COND

            menzai   *san-ge*   *hen-gu-ma-li*
            like this   three-REF   divide-COMPL-RES.PO-SEN.INF
            'Well, generally speaking, to say something about our Wutun village, it is divided into three parts.'

2)   *zowo*   *gu*   *yektek-ma-de*
            the main thing   that   inside-PART-ATTR

            ayi-jhege   *hai-la*   *zowo*   *da*
            woman-PAUC   EQU-COND   main thing   then

            tian   *zhun-ma*   *menzai*
            field   cultivate-COORD   like that

            ze-di-de   *gu-li*
            do-PROGR-NMLZ   that-SEN.INF
            'The most important thing for women (to do) in (our village) is to work in the field.'

3)   *awo-jhege*   *zowo*   *hai-la*   *je-ge*   *da*
            man-PAUC   main thing   EQU-COND   this-REF   then

            lha   *hua-di-li*
            deity   paint-PROGR-SEN.INF
            'The most important thing for men (to do) is painting thangkas.'

4) *lha*   *hua-di-de*   *je-ge*
    deity   paint-PROGR-NMLZ   this-REF

    nga-n-de   *je-ge*   *suan-de*
    1-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   Tibetan-ATTR

    sojjhen-de   *mende-ge*   *hai-li*
    traditional-NMLZ   like that-REF   EQU-SEN.INF
    'This thangka painting is our Tibetan tradition.'

5) *je-de*   *a-la*   *lai-lio*   *mende-ge*
    this-ATTR   somewhere-ABL   come-PFV   like that-REF

    bai-li
    EQU.NEG-SEN.INF
    'It has not come from somewhere (outside Wutun).'

6) *je-ge-de*   *rejjhen*   *ngoma*   *zzhamo*
    this-REF   thangka tradition   essence   that kind of

    sho-ma   *qhi-la*
    say-COORD   go-COND

    da   *waiwo-de*   *zzojjhen*   *hai-yek*
    then   Nepal-ATTR   tradition   EQU-EGO

    menzai   *sho-di-li*
    like that   say-PROGR-SEN.INF
    'To say something about the essence of this thangka tradition, it is a Nepalese
    tradition, it is said so.'

7) *gu-de*   *yektek-ma-la*   *lha-de*   *renba*   *zzhamo*
    that-ATTR   inside-PART-ABL   deity-ATTR   order   that kind of

    sho-de   *ra*   *zaige*
    say-NMLZ   also   a little

    en   *lhazzo-de*   *bbakzzo-de*
    as for it   paint thangkas-NMLZ   paint masks-NMLZ

    en   *da*   *rek*   *mezzhawo*   *jhi-ge*
    as for it   then   profession   different kind   several-REF

    yek-li
    EXIST-SEN.INF

'To say something about the division inside the thangka painting, there are thangka painters and mask painters, there are several different kinds of professionals.'

8)

gu-liangge	*da*	*dangsang*	*jhang menzai*
DIST-SOC	then	nowadays	nowadays

conjena	*da*
as for this	then

a-li	*hai-la*
where-LOC	EQU-COND

yidaze	*nga-n-de*	*je-ge*	*ddaiba-de*
everyone	1-COLL-ATTR	this-REF	village-ATTR

lhazzo-jhege	*doxhen*	*jjhenxhen*
thangka painter-PAUC	go everywhere	go everywhere

man-da	*menzai*
be full-CONSEQ	like that

en	*nga-n-de*	*suan*	*ti*	*she*
as for it	1-COLL-ATTR	Tibetan	place	on

ha	*ti*	*she*
Chinese	place	on

hai-li=a	*xho-la*
EQU-SEN.INF=INTERR	good-SEN.INF.INTERR

a-li	*hai-la*	*menzai*	*lha*	*hua-ma*
where-LOC	EQU-COND	like that	deity	paint-COORD

da	*menzai*	*wanlan-di-de-ge*	*hai-li*
then	like that	do-PROGR-NMLZ-REF	EQU-SEN.INF

'Therefore, today, wherever you go, there are thangka painters from our village, whether it is our Tibetan place or a Chinese place, they go everywhere to paint thangkas, that is how it is.'

9) *en*   *gu~gu-liangge*
    as for it   DIST~DIST-SOC

    gguan   *hai-la*   *ra*   *hanshege*
    temple   EQU-COND   also   or

    gguan-de   *adia*   *je-ge*   *hai-la*   *ra*
    temple-ATTR   monk   this-REF   EQU-COND   also

    zowo   *gejhai-de*   *da*
    the main thing   self-ATTR   then

    qui   *jjhang-la-de*   *mangxxi-li*
    doctrine   study-INCOMPL-NMLZ   base-SEN.INF
    'Therefore, whether it is a monastery or a monk in the monastery, the most
    important thing (for them to do) is to study Buddhist doctrine.'

10) *gu-de*   *hanqai-de*   *dawo*   *ma-ge-li*
    that-ATTR   in addition to-ATTR   still   what-REF-SEN.INF

    sho-la
    say-COND

    da   *menzai*   *lha*   *da*   *gu*   *yidaze*
    then   like that   deity   then   that   all

    hua-ma
    paint-COORD

    menzai   *wanlan-di-de*   *je-ge*   *yang*
    like that   do-PROGR-NMLZ   this-REF   also

    nga-n-de   *je-ge*   *ddaiba-de*   *qhi-de*
    1SG-COLL-ATTR   this-REF   village-ATTR   go-ATTR

    hua-de   *mende-ge-li*
    draw-NMLZ   like that-REF-SEN.INF
    'In addition to that, what there is still, (they) paint thangkas, to do like that is
    the custom of our village.'

11)   *da*   *jidang-de*   *nga-n-de*
         then   in general-ATTR   1-COLL-ATTR

         hai-la   *ma-ge*   *hai-li*   *sho-li*   *da*
         EQU-COND   what-REF   EQU-SEN.INF say-SEN.INF then

         zowo   *da*   *she-li*   *co-ma*
         main thing   then   home-LOC   stay-COORD

         da   *tian*   *zhun-di-de*
         then   field   cultivate-PROGR-NMLZ

         gu-li   *zowo*
         that-SEN.INF   main thing
         'Then, generally speaking, as for our (women), the main thing for them (to do) is to stay at home and to work in the field.'

12)   *da*   *jhang menzai*   *hai-la*
         then   nowadays   EQU-COND

         ayi-jhege   *ra*   *ki*
         woman-PAUC   also   also

         jjhende   *da*   *she-li-de*   *laiga-de*
         often   then   home-LOC-ATTR   work-ATTR

         hanqai
         in addition to

         dawo   *ma-ge*   *wanlan-di-de*   *re*
         still   what-REF   do-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT

         sho-la
         say-COND

         da   *awo-jhege*   *pa-ze-ma*
         then   man-PAUC   help-do-COORD

         en   *lha*   *mu*   *zaimazai*   *hua-de*
         as for it   deity   TOP   a little   paint-NMLZ

         menzai   *zaimazai*   *wanlan-di-li*
         like that   a little   do-PROGR-SEN.INF
         'Then, nowadays, what the women are also doing except the household tasks, they help men (in painting thangkas) and sometimes they also paint thangkas.'

13) *da*   *awu-jhege*   *hai-la*   *da*
     then   man-PAUC   EQU-COND   then

     da   *di-se-ge-du*   *da*   *se-ge*   *shai-li*
     then   ORD-four-REF-in   then   four-REF   time-LOC

     aen   *da*   *lha*   *hua-ma*
     as for it   then   deity   paint-COORD

     aen   *da*   *lhachek*   *mangga*
     as for it   then   disciple   many

     jjhong-la-ma
     raise-INCOMPL-COORD

     aen   *menzai*   *ze-di-de-li*
     as for it   like that   do-PROGR-NMLZ-SEN.INF
     'Then, as for men, during the fours seasons they paint thangkas and they raise a
     lot of disciples.'

14) *jhang menzai*   *xaitang-li*   *con-je-na*   *da*   *yidaze-ha*
     nowadays   school-LOC   as for this   then   all-OD

     awu-jhege-la   *lha*   *da*   *gu*   *ra*
     boy-PAUC-OBL   deity   and   that   also

     jho-di-de-li
     teach-PROGR-NMLZ-SEN.INF
     'Nowadays, thangka painting is taught to all the children at schools as well.'

15) *yegai-de*   *hanqai*   *lha*   *la*   *jho-di-li*
     letter-ATTR   in addition   deity   also   teach-PROGR-SEN.INF
     'In addition to writing, thangka painting is taught (at schools) as well.'

16) *gu-liangge*
     that-SOC

     godagma-de   *nganqai*   *kan-la*
     before-ATTR   in addition   look-COND

     da   *xaige*   *be-xang-de*
     then   very   NEG-look like-NMLZ

     mende-ge   *hai-li*
     like that-REF   EQU-SEN.INF
     'Therefore, compared to (the situation) before, it is very different.'

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17) | *da* | *xaitangwa-jhege* | | *hai-la* | *ra* | *da* |
then | pupil-PAUC | | EQU-COND | also | then

   | *zowo* | *gejhai~jhai-de* | | *sa~sa-li* | *zowo* |
main thing | self~self-ATTR | | place-LOC | main thing

   jjhang-la-di-de-ge
   study-INCOMPL-PROGR-NMLZ-REF

   | *suan* | *yegai* | *jjhang-la-di-li* |
Tibetan | language | study-INCOMPL-PROGR-SEN.INF
   'As regards for schoolchildren, the main thing each of them is studying in their own places, they study in the Tibetan language.'

18) | *da* | *hua* | *je-ge* | *be-xang-ma* |
then | speech | this-REF | NEG-look like-COORD

   | *ma* | *ze-zhe* |
what | do-PROSP
   'So the language (of studying) is a bit different (from our mother tongue), but what does it matter?'

19) | *zowo* | *da* | *qhihua* | *da* |
main thing | then | custom | then

   | *yidaze* | *suan-de* | | *jhosso* |
all | Tibetan-ATTR | | education

   | *hai-de-liangge* | | *suan* | *yegai* | *zowo* | *ze-ma* |
EQU-NMLZ-SOC | | Tibetan | language | main.thing | do-COORD

   jjhang-la-ma
   study-INCOMPL-COORD
   'Then, because of the custom of all (the schoolchildren in our village) getting a Tibetan education, they take Tibetan as the main language of study.'

20) | *dangga* | | *gejhai-mu* | *ga-de* | *shai-la* |
in the beginning | | self-COLL | small-ATTR | time-LOC

   | *ha* | *xaitang-li* | *da* | *gu* | *qhi-de* | *yi-zek* |
Chinese | school-LOC | then | that | go-NMLZ | one

   | *ra* | *mi-li* |
even | EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
   'None of our schoolchildren goes to Chinese school at the very young age…'

Text 2: Traditional Food

by Myrtle Cairangji, female, born in Jiacangma in 1991

1)   *wuzizi*   *hai-de-ra*
           before   EXIST-NMLZ-also

              ddaiba-de   *ayi-jhege*   *sama*   *da*
              village-ATTR   woman-PAUC   food   and

              mende   *gugun-ra*
              like that   for example-also

              nianzhe   *guinian-de*   *mende*   *gu-duru*
              last year   the year before last-ATTR   like that   that-PL

              zaige   *gun-di-li*
              a little   cook-PROGR-SEN.INF
              'For a long time ago, the women in our village cooked traditional food.'

2)   *da*   *huaishok-la-da-ra*
           then   for example-ABL-then-also

              shangnia[23]   *mu*   *shasha*   *mu*   *jhotan*
              shangnia   TOP   shasha   TOP   jiaotan
              'For example, *shangnia*, *shasha* and *jiaotan*.'

3)   *da*   *mende*   *gu*   *gun-man-da*
           then   like that   that   cook-get finished-CONSEQ

              yidaze-ha
              all-OD

              nga-ha   *zzon-la-da*   *gu*   *gu-duru*
              1SG.OBL-OD   for someone-ABL-then   that   that-PL

              xaige   *xang~xang-de-ge*   *hai-de*
              very   delicious~delicious-NMLZ-REF   EQU-NMLZ

              mende-ge   *hai-li*   *da*
              like that-REF   EQU-SEN.INF   then
              'All the people, or at least me, find this kind of traditional food very delicious.'

---

[23] *Shangnia* is fermented barley flour cooked in a bread pot with rapeseed oil. Bread pot is covered with hay, then the hay is burned. After 30 minutes the dish is ready. *Shasha* is a barley flour pancake fried in oil in a flat pan. Sometimes sugar is added to it. *Jiaotan* means barley flour dumplings in vegetable soup.

4) *shangnia* *hai-de-ra-da*
    shangnia   EQU-NMLZ-also-then

    jjhang menzai   *shongge*   *wanlan-di*   *mi-li*
    nowadays   never   do-PROGR   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
    '*Shangnia*, for example, is never cooked in these days.'

5) *ayi*   *yidaze*
    woman   all

    she-de   *ddaiba-de*   *ayi*   *yidaze*
    home-ATTR   village-ATTR   woman   all

    yi-ge   *rang*   *ra*   *wanlan-di*   *mi-li*
    one-REF   person   also   do-PROGR   EXIST.NEG-SEN.INF
    'Among all the women living in our village, there is no-one who cooks these
    (traditional dishes).'

6) *da*   *gunzzho*
    then   after this

    *jjashok*²⁴   *ra*   *yek-de*   *re*   *han*
    jjashok   also   EXIST-NMLZ   FACT   also
    'In addition, there is also *jjashok*.'

7) *jjashok*   *hai-de-ra-da*
    jjashok   EQU-NMLZ-also-then

    jhang menzai   *zaimazai*   *gun-di-de*
    nowadays   sometimes   cook-PROGR-NMLZ

    mende-ge   *hai-li*
    like that-REF   EQU-SEN.INF
    'As for *jjashok*, it is sometimes still cooked in these days.'

---

[24] *Jjasok* means fried weath flour squares that are dried in the sun and then cooked in milk. Sometimes salt or sugar is added.

8) da   huaishok-la-da-ra
  then   for example-ABL-then-also

  ngongnen *mu* *jua-she-ma*
  fasting ritual TOP fast-RES.AO-COORD

  ngongnen   *mu* *jua-gu-ma-da*
  fasting ritual   TOP fast-COMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

  gu-de *tekre* *da*
  that-ATTR tomorrow then

  xhe-de-ge   *ma-ge* *hai-li* *sho-ra-da*
  drink-NMLZ-REF   what-REF EQU-SEN.INF say-COND-CONSEQ

  jjashok *mu* *gun-man*   *xhe-di-de*
  jjashok TOP cook-get finished drink-PROGR-NMLZ
  'For example, during the fasting ritual, (no), when the fasting ritual is finished,
  as for what the people drink after that, they make some *jjashok* and drink it.'

9) da   *jhang menzai*   da *mende-ge*
  now   nowadays   then like that-REF

  hai-li
  EQU-SEN.INF
  'Nowadays it is like this.'

Text 3: Village Festivals

by Myrtle Cairangji, female, born in Jiacangma in 1991

1) *da*　　　　*jaicangma*　*ddaiba-de*　*dicen*　　*mu*
    then　　　　Jiacangma　village-ATTR　festival　　TOP

    sho-de　　　*ra*　　　*nianha-ge*　　　*yek-li=mu*
    say-NMLZ　　also　　　blind eye-REF　　EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
    'The festivals of the Jiacangma village, to say something about them,
    there is Losar.'

2) *nianha-de*　　　　　　　*co*
    blind eye-ATTR　　　　　after

    wu-yai-dang　　　　　*yek-li=mu*
    five-month-festival　　EXIST-SEN.INF=INTERR
    'After the Losar there is the May Festival.'

3) *wu-yai-dang-de*　　　　　*co*
    five-month-festival-ATTR　after

    lek-yai-he　　　　　*yek-de*　　*re*　　　*da*
    six-month-festival　　EXIST-ATTR　FACT　　then
    'After the May Festival there is the Leru Festival.'

4) *ze*　　　*godangma*　*nianha*　　*yek-de*　　*ra*
    very　　before　　　blind eye　　EQU-NMLZ　also
    'The very first (festival) is Losar.'

5) *nianha*　　*she-wu*　　*tian*　　*yek-de*　　*re*
    blind eye　ten-five　　day　　　EXIST-NMLZ　FACT
    'The Losar lasts for fifteen days.'

6) *she-wu*　　*tian*　　*yidaze*　　*menzai*　　*co-ma*
    ten-five　　day　　　inside　　　like that　　stay-COORD

    she-li　　*co-ma*　　*qe-ma*　　*xhe-ma*　　*co-ma*　　*da*
    home-LOC　stay-COORD　eat-COORD　drink-COORD stay-COORD　then
    'During the fifteen days, (the people) spend it like this, they stay at home,eat
    and drink and spend some time (together).'

7) *han*   *a-li*   *hai-ra*
    also   where   EQU-COND

    da   *molon*   *she*   *da*   *gu-duru*   *she*
    then   Molon   time   and   that-PL   time

    a-li   *hai-ra*   *jja-la-ma-da*
    where   EQU-COND   visit-INCOMPL-RES.PO-CONSEQ

    menzai   *co-di-de*   *re=mu*
    like that   stay-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT=INTERR
    'Also, during the Molon ritual and the other rituals, they visit everywhere (in
    the home village), that is how they celebrate (the Losar).'

8) *gu-de*   *xenrada*   *yidaze*
    that-ATTR   after   all

    wu-yai-dang   *go-she-di-de*   *re*
    five-month-festival   spend-RES.AO-PROGR-NMLZ   FACT
    'After that (the Losar), everybody spends the May Festival.'

9) *wu-yai-dang*   *go-she-ra*   *luteng-li*   *qhi-ma*
    five-month-festival   spend-RES.AO-COND   forest-LOC   go-COORD

    pikang   *da*   *gu-duru*   *da-ma-da*
    tent   and   that-PL   pitch-RES.PO-CONSEQ

    xaige   *sama*   *da*   *gu-duru*   *xang~xang-de*
    very   food   and   that-PL   delicious~delicious-NMLZ

    wanlan-ma-da   *gudaxi*   *co-ma*
    make-RES.PO-CONSEQ   there   stay-COORD

    wu   *tian-na*   *co-ma-da*
    five   day-DISTR   stay-RES.PO-CONSEQ

    menzai   *co-di-li=mu*
    like that   stay-PROGR-SEN.INF=INTERR
    'To celebrate the May Festival, (the people) go to the forest, they pitch tents and
    the like, they cook very delicious food, and stay there (in tents) for five days,
    that is how they spend (the May Festival).'

10) *da*   *lek-yai-he*   *hai-de*   *ra*
    then   six-month-festival   EQU-NMLZ   also

    yidaze   *mio*   *qhi-she-ma*
    all   temple   go-RES.AO-COORD

xen	*quandi*	*da*	*gu-duru*	*quan-she-ma*
new	clothes	and	that-PL	dress-RES.AO-COORD

da	*mio*	*qhi-she-ma*
then	temple	go-RES.AO-COORD

da	*yidaze*	*tio-ma-da*
then	all	dance-RES.PO-CONSEQ

ayi-jhege		*hai-de*	*ra*	*bi-ma-da*
woman-PAUC		EQU-NMLZ	also to dance	bei-RES.PO-CONSEQ

menzai	*ddaimu*	*kan-man-da*
like that	performance	watch-get-finished-CONSEQ

han	*ddaiba-de*	*wa*
also	village-ATTR	man

tio-ma		*lio-gu-ra*
dance-COORD		get finished-COMPL-COND

zai-de	*hua*	*ra*	*mu*
other	Wutun	and	TOP

xhorjja	*ra*	*mu*
Xhorjja	and	TOP

gu-duru	*qhi-ma*	*tio-ma*
that-PL	go-COORD	dance-COORD

ddaimu	*da*	*gu-duru*
performance	and	that-PL

kan-she-di-de		*re*
watch-RES.AO-PROGR-NMLZ		FACT

'Then there is the Leru Festival, all (the people) go to the temple and dress in new clothes, then goes to the temple, then, after everybody has danced, the women have danced the *bei*-dance, and (the villagers) have watched the performances, and also the men of our village have finished their dances, we will go to the Wutun and Xhorjja villages and dance (with them) and watch the performances (together).'

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